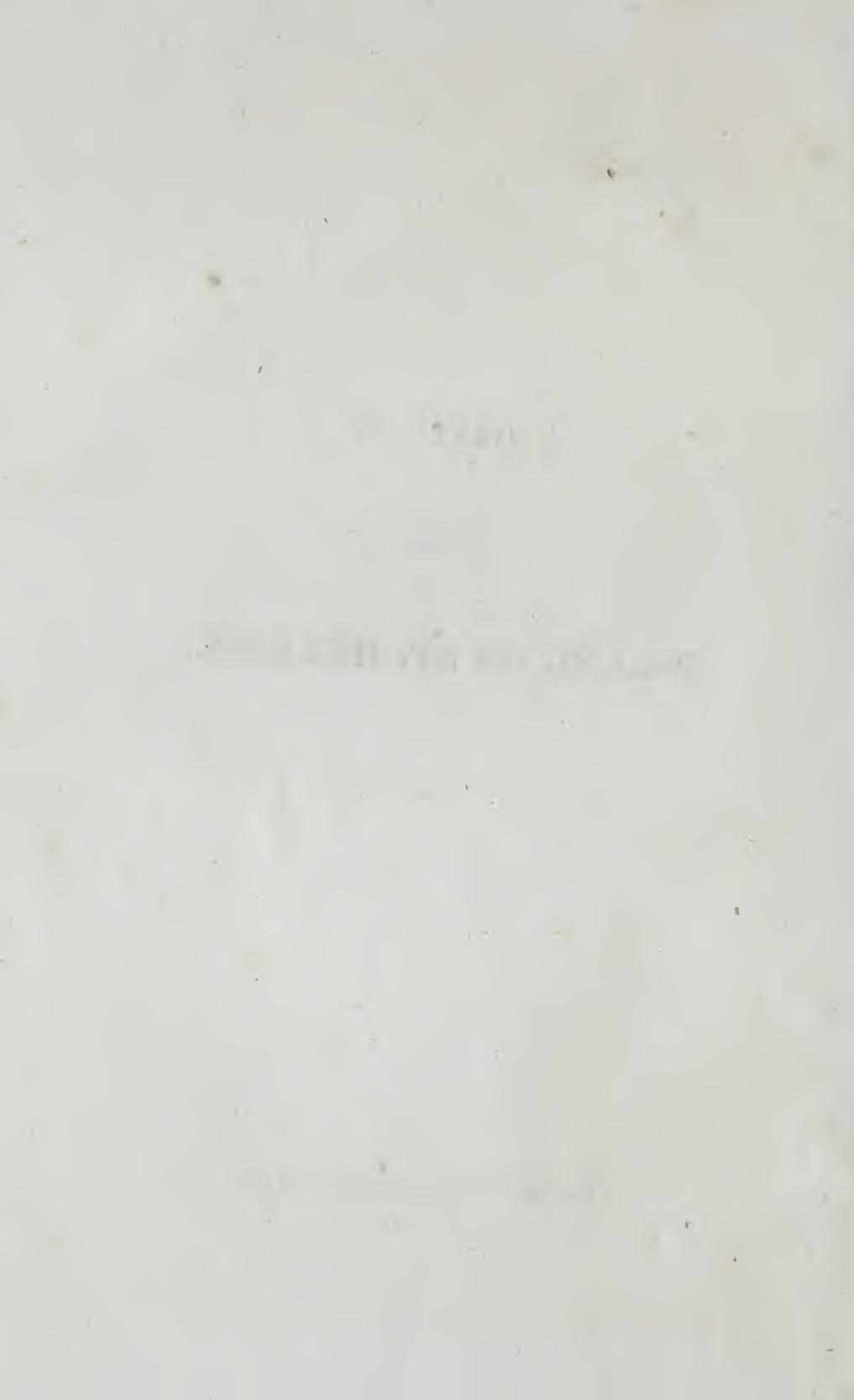




A HISTORY
OF THE
ISLAND OF ST. HELENA.

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Engraved by J. R. Smith.

A View from the Interior of the ISLAND of STEHENA, looking Eastward, where the Place called ARNO'S VALE is seen, with a distant Prospect of the Promontory of Prosperous Bay & the Hills called Great and Little Stone Top.

A HISTORY
OF THE
ISLAND OF ST. HELENA,
Rev'd. Kirchhoffer.
FROM
Dec: 1808
ITS DISCOVERY BY THE PORTUGUESE

TO
THE YEAR 1806;

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN APPENDIX.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO THE HONOURABLE THE
COURT OF DIRECTORS FOR AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED
ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

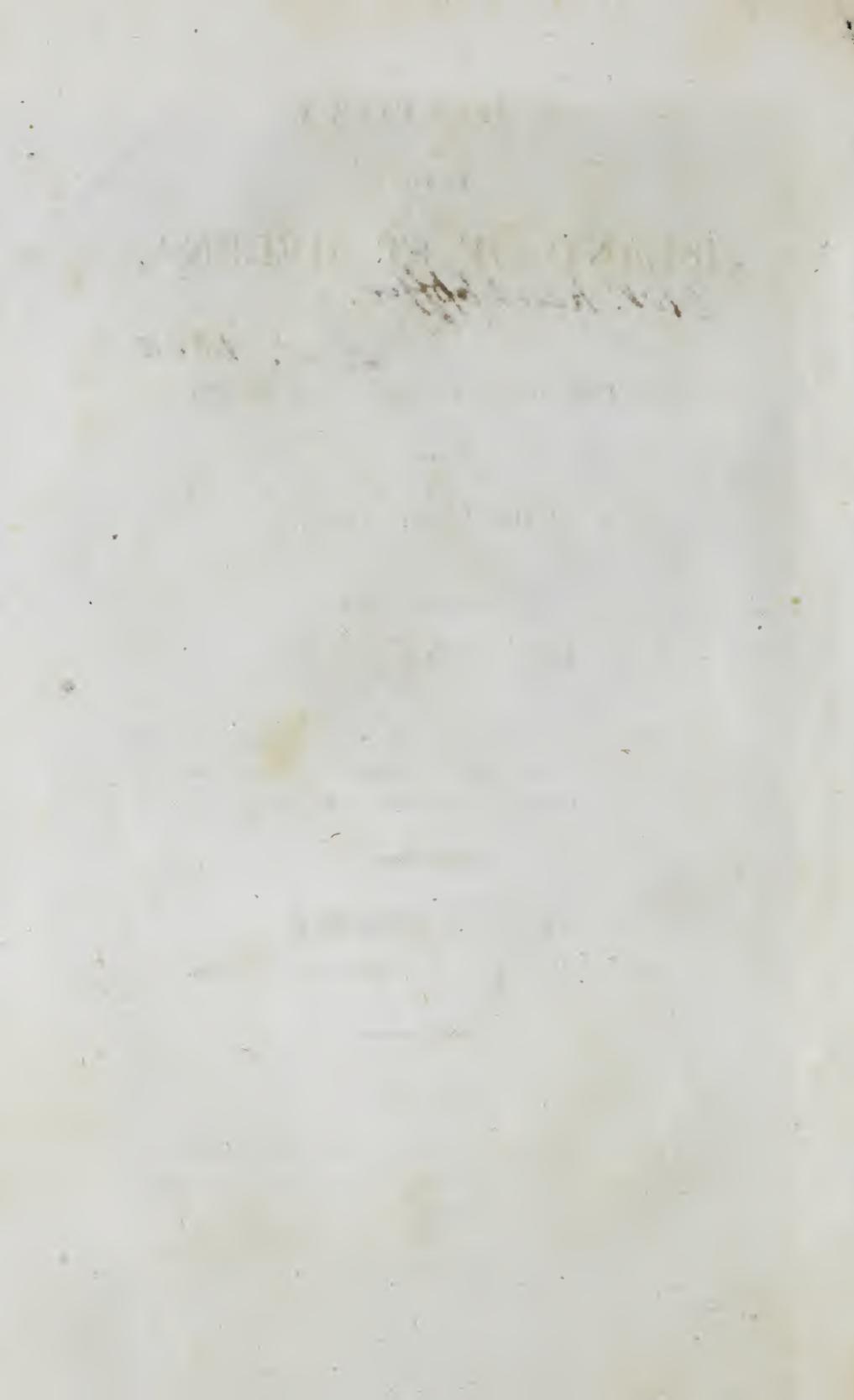
BY T. H. BROOKE,

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ST. HELENA.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR BLACK, PARRY, AND KINGSBURY,
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LEADENHALL-STREET.

1808.



TO THE HONOURABLE
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS

FOR AFFAIRS OF THE
UNITED EAST-INDIA COMPANY,

THIS HISTORY
OF A SMALL, BUT IMPORTANT,
PART OF THEIR POSSESSIONS,

IS,
WITH THEIR PERMISSION, DEDICATED,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL
AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

T. H. BROOKE.

P R E F A C E.

IN the present state of philosophic inquiry, nothing that relates to the productions of nature, the progress of manners, or the conduct of human life, seems trivial or unimportant. The remotest and most minute portions of the globe are made the objects of political and scientific research: and if the magnitude of our commerce with India be considered of essential benefit to the nation, and the convenience and advantage St. Helena affords in facilitating and giving security to our imports from the East be well understood, an account of that island may have some claim to acceptance. Even as a singular phenomenon on the face of nature, its annals may not be unworthy of regard.

Among the numerous settlements and islands annexed to the British empire, St. Helena is certainly ancient in the date of its establishment; yet no historical account of it has hitherto been attempted; and to this deficiency, perhaps, may be attributed the idea of insignificance that has been attached to it, and the consequent indifference of the public with regard to its concerns. The descriptions of the island to be met with in various authors are partial and incomplete, the result only of transient observation; and there is not extant any entire narrative, commencing from the first era of the settlement, and pursuing its progress to the present day. Many strangers, visiting the island on their return from India, have expressed a desire for further information than is to be found in the publications alluded to; and this curiosity, together with the approbation of persons on whose judgement he relies, form part of the author's motives for obtruding the present attempt on the public.

The introductory chapter contains a descriptive

sketch of the island and its productions. The historical part commences with its discovery; and, in the narration of occurrences posterior to that event, an account is given of the early laws and regulations of the settlement, their revisals and alterations, the various plans which have been suggested at different periods for improving the island and increasing its resources, together with their failure or success. The subject of the landed property, and the nature of the tenures, are also noticed; and in the course of this detail the author has endeavoured to trace the progressive state of the island in general, from a solitary waste to an important colony.

This detail of his undertaking may, perhaps, also appear as a statement of the difficulties he had to encounter in the progress of his work; but he has not the presumption to offer it as a plea to the public for an undue indulgence to his defects. A residence of fifteen years on the island has enabled him to obtain the local knowledge essential to his design; and his appointment as

public secretary has given him free access to the official records. Possessing such sources of information, he has only to hope that the accuracy and truth of the circumstances which he records may compensate for defects in style or composition; and should this attempt afford any useful or even satisfactory intelligence to those connected with the government of the island and friendly to its interests, the author's wishes will be gratified, and his principal object completely attained.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE island of St. Helena is situated in $15^{\circ} 55'$ south latitude, and $5^{\circ} 49'$ west longitude from Greenwich. It lies within the limit of the south-east trade wind, and is distant 400 leagues from the coast of Africa, the nearest continent. The extreme length of the island is $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles, its breadth $6\frac{3}{4}$, its circumference about 28 miles, and its surface, in acres, 30,300.

The island, when observed at sea, presents to the eye the appearance of an abrupt and rugged rock, divested of tree, shrub, or herbage. A nearer approach brings in view the central eminences, distinguished by a softer outline, clothed with verdure, and towering to the clouds. Advancing still nearer, the scene again changes,

and the green summits are shut from sight by the intervening craggy and stupendous cliffs, that seem to overhang the sea. Their great elevation excites in the mind of a stranger an idea of being too near the land; whilst the seaman, acquainted with the coast, proceeds safely to the anchorage which may be within a cable's length of the shore: and in his progress, the exterior aspect of the island, and the disposition of its batteries and military works, impress an opinion of defensive strength. On rounding Munden's Point the eye is suddenly relieved by a view of the town, seated in a narrow valley between two lofty mountains; and the inter-spersion of trees among the white houses, has an effect picturesque and pleasing in a high degree. This valley, known by the name of James's Valley, is on the n. w. and leeward side of the island, in which situation there is good anchorage from 8 to 25 fathoms; and fresh water is conveyed in leaden pipes to the wharf, from a spring at two miles distance, which affords a plentiful supply.

Malham, in his Naval Gazetteer, states " the " greatest rise and fall of water, at the time of " new and full moon, to be 39 inches, and that " it does not sensibly differ for the space of

“ twenty minutes at the time of high and low water.” But Captain Leigh, of the honorable Company’s ship *Georgiana*, who has been long on the St. Helena station, and, of course, has had many opportunities of forming an accurate judgement, has observed the rise sometimes to exceed 5 feet. The variation of the compass, in 1768, was $12^{\circ} 47'$ west; and, in 1796, was $15^{\circ} 47' 30''$. The surf, at times, is tremendous, particularly about Christmas, and many lives were lost in approaching and leaving the shore, until a new wharf and landing-place were constructed by Governor Brooke.

Upon landing, and passing the draw-bridge, the way leads between a line of heavy guns and a double row of trees, of a lively green, generally in full leaf, being a species of the banian of India, and named in Bengal the peepel tree. The town is entered by an arched gateway, under a rampart, or terrace, forming one side of a parade about 100 feet square. This parade, were it not disfigured by some mean buildings on the right, would have a handsome appearance. On the left side are the government-house and main guard-room: the former is inclosed with a wall, having the semblance of embrasures, and is called the Castle. It contains

the Governor's habitation, and the offices of government. The church, fronting the gateway, is a neat, and not inelegant edifice. The principal street commences between it and a pallisade inclosing the Company's garden. It consists of twenty-eight houses, most of them neat and well constructed, and divides into two other streets; one on the east, leading to that side of the country; the other proceeding to the upper part of the valley, where are situated the barracks, the new garden, and the hospital. In this street there are a number of shops, well stored with European and Indian commodities; but the houses in general are far inferior to those in the lower part of the town, where the principal inhabitants reside.

The two hills, or ridges, between which the town is situated, are Rupert's on the east, and Ladder Hill on the west.

The roads by which access is gained into the interior, are formed on the sides of these hills, and the ascent is so easy and safe, that carts and oxen pass along without danger or difficulty. For the first mile or two, the traveller observes little else than nakedness and sterility, but his curiosity is soon gratified by the sudden

prospect of verdure, woody heights, neat dwellings, and cultivated plantations.

The island is unequally divided by a lofty chain, or ridge of hills, running nearly east and west in a curved direction, and bending to the south at each extremity. From this chain alternate ridges and valleys branch off in various directions, but chiefly north and south. Diana's Peak, towards the east end of this chain, is the highest point of the island, and rises nearly 2700 feet above the level of the sea. From the summit of this peak no point intercepts the horizon; the whole island is beneath the scope of vision; the ridges and hollows diverging from the chain are traced to the sea. Houses and plantations diversify the prospect, and the contrast of verdant and naked mountains forcibly strikes the attention, and renders the scene at once novel, picturesque, and majestic*.

The summits and sides of most of the interior

* Major Rennell, who ascertained the altitudes of the most remarkable eminences, states them to be as follows:

Cuckold's Point 2672 feet.

Halley's Mount..... 2467

These and Diana's Peak form a part of the same ridge, and are frequently enveloped in clouds.

heights are wooded with the cabbage-tree of the island, the red-wood, string-wood, dog-wood, and other indigenous trees and shrubs; and in situations less elevated, the gum-wood was formerly to be found in great abundance; but at present few trees of this kind are left standing, except at Long Wood, where they have been protected by the injunctions of the Company, and cover unequally a surface of nearly 1500 acres.

Clear and wholesome springs issue from the sides of almost every hill; but as they have neither volume nor sufficient length of current, they form only inconsiderable rills. From this circumstance it happens that in a country so calculated to produce picturesque cascades, there are no falls of water of any magnitude. One stream projects its whole quantity from a

Flag Staff.....	2272
The Barn.....	2015
Overhanging the sea.	
Alarm House.....	1960
Centrally situated.	
High Knoll.....	1903
To the southward of Ladder Hill.	
Long Wood House.....	1762
Official country residence of the Lieutenant-Governor.	

height of about 300 feet perpendicular, but becomes a shower before it reaches the cavity below: when, indeed, it is swollen by torrents, it descends in a continuous column, but its effect and beauty are in that case tarnished by the mud involved in its mass.

It is somewhat remarkable, that whilst many of these springs and rills abate considerably, or are entirely dried up, after any long intermission of rain, a few remain undiminished. There are, in particular, two streams, one in Fisher's Valley, and the other at the Briars, which are thought to be enlarged in size during a continuance of dry weather, and at such times seem to glide with increased velocity, transparent and pure. This circumstance, if the volume of the streams really be increased, is irreconcilable to the common hypothesis, that all springs are supplied from the clouds. But there is a possibility, that, at a season of severe drought, when the other springs are much diminished, or totally dried up, there may be some deception in the appearance of a current, which, continuing the same, may seem to be increased. The fact should be established by actual measurement, before a new system be founded upon it. The other springs on elevated situations are obviously

supplied by the rains, or the clouds, which are so constantly in contact with the summit of the hills, where moisture is so abundant and the springs are numerous. In lower situations, some of the springs, which are also dependent upon the fall of rain, are not so immediately affected from this cause; but require a considerable time to manifest their abundance. This is remarkable of a spring at the Governor's country residence, which supplies the High Knoll aqueduct. The heaviest fall of rain does not affect it till after the lapse of weeks, when it shows the recruit of water that it has received; and it continues to supply a plenteous stream much longer than many other springs. Possibly this may be the case, in a greater degree, with springs which are in a still lower situation. But if the quantity of water that issues from the springs at the Briars, and in Fisher's Valley, be actually increased in the time of severe drought, the extraordinary supply must be accounted for upon different principles*.

* The author has been favoured with the following remarks by a friend:—

It seems unreasonable to deny that Nature may have immense subterraneous reservoirs, or to refuse her the power of fabricating water in the bowels of the earth. Chemistry

It would be difficult, perhaps, in any country, to meet with a more uncommon and romantic

instructs us it can be done on the surface, and it is highly probable much better below. We know that many lakes of magnitude send forth perpetual rivers, but we do not impute the capacity of affording them, or the undiminished quantity of the lake itself, either to rain or snow ; its constant plenitude must arise from its communication with waters below its bed, that have no connexion with those which come from above. We know that the absorption from the surface, after the longest rains, does not proceed deeper than sixteen inches ; we know, from an experiment of common superficial earth, put to the thickness of ten feet into an appropriate receptacle, that after an exposure of eight years to the whole rain that fell, no part of it passed through it ; and the inhabitants of St. Helena know, that *common** earth, made into mortar, is a dry, defensive covering to houses, whilst the coating is not actually broken or injured by the weight or force of the showers. How, then, is the rain to arrive at the first latent source of a great river ? Admitting it to pass through the mould at the surface, it must soon come to strata of clay, or impervious stone ; these are impassable to water from above ; but cut through them, and you find original water below that has never communicated with the clouds. Besides, it is computed that the whole depth of fall through England, in one year, does not,

* In the eighth chapter, where the roofing of houses in James's Valley is mentioned, the earth employed for this purpose, taken from the sides of the valley, is certainly not *common earth*, but mixed with a portion of volcanic ashes, to which this property is imputed. The clay-soil in the interior of the island does not possess the same property of resisting the rain.

prospect than Sandy Bay, when seen from parts of the main ridge. Though in general a bird's-eye view lies before the spectator, hills rise above him to an elevation much greater than the spot on which he stands. Those on the left, richly clothed with trees to the very summits, display a wonderful contrast to the wild and grotesque nakedness that triumphs on the right, where

in the wettest seasons, exceed forty inches; and this whole aggregate quantity does not appear equal to supply all the rivers of England, in their ordinary fulness and speed of course, for more than three or four months together. We may distinguish, then, as is done by geologists with their mountains, and call those rivers primeval, that have their native issues from the recluse caverns of the earth; those secondary, that are fed by the melting of transient or primordial snows; and those temporary, that depend on the contingencies of Heaven.

It may be asked, What is the natural reason of the increased bulk of the streams in Fisher's Valley and at the Briars? Is it that the drought, making the ground more porous, and thence rendering it less weighty and compact, the resistance to the escape of its water from the fountain-head is diminished, and its passage outward made more per-vious and easy? But it is better to assign no reasons for phenomena than to assign weak ones; better to avoid the frailty of hypothesis, and better to remain in contented ignorance, than suffer the mind to rest on shallow, insufficient explanation.

shelving cliffs, surmounted by huge perpendicular or spiral masses of rock, are multiplied under every shape and aspect. The downward view consists of a variety of ridges, eminences, and ravines, converging towards the sea, into one common valley. Among this scenery are interspersed the dwellings of planters, the different forms of gardens and plantations, and the pasturing of cattle; the prospect closing with the distant sea, rushing in between two black, craggy cliffs, which the surf whitens with its spray. The infinite diversity of tint that overspreads the whole of this extraordinary picture, the majesty of one part, the reposing beauty of another, and the horror of a third, cannot fail to delight and astonish every observer of nature.

The Governor's country residence, which lies about three miles from the town, is called the Plantation-House, and is a well-built, handsome edifice, erected in the years 1791 and 1792. Art has been combined with nature to render this, in the opinion of many, the most beautiful spot on the island. Here the landscape-painter has a fine subject for his pencil; and a considerable fund of amusement is afforded to the botanist. Not only the indigenous productions of the island, but plants and trees from distant and

opposite climes have been introduced within the inclosure. The mimosa of New South Wales, the pine of the North, and the bamboo of India, seem to outvie each other in the luxuriance of their growth.

Thunder, lightning, or storms, rarely disturb the serenity of this mild atmosphere, in which so small a portion of electric fluid is supposed to exist, that it was imagined a machine for collecting it would be useless: but experiment has exposed the error of this supposition.

In James's Town, the thermometer, in the shade, seldom rises above 80 degrees; but the reflected heat from the sides of the Valley, when there is little wind, and the sky is clear, resembles that of India. In the country the temperature is much more moderate and uniform. Sir Joseph Banks, on being furnished with a professional report from the Company's botanist at St. Helena, made the following observations upon it.

“ From this abstract it appears, that the summer, in that elevated situation (the Plantation-House), is not so hot as in England, “ 72° being the highest point at which the ther-

“ mometer was observed in 1788, while 76° is
“ marked as the point of our summer heat.
“ The winter is also much milder than ours,
“ ranging between the 55th and 56th degrees
“ of Fahrenheit's scale; a temperature in which
“ the vegetation of leaves proceeds with more
“ equability, perhaps, than any other.

“ The rain is divided more after the manner
“ of our temperate climates than of the tropical
“ ones; every month has its share; and the
“ July, August, and September seem to be the
“ stormy seasons there, with more rainy days
“ in February than in either of those months.
“ Cloudy days also exceed in number, almost
“ two to one, those in which the rays of the sun
“ fall upon the earth without interruption, and
“ scorch the vegetation. This is particularly
“ suited to pasture and trees, but not to the
“ ripening of European fruits. The timber
“ which grows on the upper part of Madeira
“ would answer here.”

Iron ore is said to be found in some parts of the island, but any idea of its fusion is precluded by the scarcity of fuel. Appearances also of gold and copper ore have been discovered. In Turk's-cap Bay there exist veins of

a stone which takes a beautiful polish, and some of it will bear cutting for seals. Lime is plentiful, and some of it of an excellent quality, being a concretion of sand and shells. The Sandy Bay lime seems to partake of the quality of puzzolana, by hardening in water; but the cement used in ordinary buildings is generally mud, which, in many parts of the island, answers exceedingly well.

The soil inclines to clay, and loam abounds in saline particles, and is of a greater depth, by many feet, than is requisite for the purposes of agriculture. In this medium climate, it is well adapted to both European and Indian productions. The wood of the cabbage-tree is very durable, and answers well for rafters; the red-wood (a species of ebony), and the gum-wood, are also valuable for the purposes of building; but the latter must be kept from the influence of the weather. Of this tree there are three kinds, (all evergreens,) the common, the bastard, and the dwarf gum-wood. The last is generally called the shrub, or scrub-wood: it seldom attains a greater height than three feet; but some of the old inhabitants remember to have seen it much higher. This, as well as the first-mentioned species, bears a blossom somewhat resembling

the daisy in Europe. The common gum-wood, when it arrives at maturity, has a tolerably straight stem, about 20 or 30 feet high, and spreads its branches and leaves like an umbrella. The bastard kind has less of this peculiarity, and its leaves are smoother, and of a deeper tint, and do not possess the gummy texture so perceptible in the other two sorts. Its blossoms are in small bunches. From the trunks of all three an aromatic gum exudes, which renders the wood extremely pleasant when used as fuel. A liquid of a sweet flavor, which the natives call *toddy*, issues spontaneously from the trunk of the common and bastard gum-wood. It is obtained by means of a bottle on the tree, so placed as to catch the natural exudation, which fills in the course of a night.

The constant moisture which prevails on Diana's Peak and other woody eminences in its vicinity, seems to favor the theory that trees have an attractive influence on the clouds. That in woody countries there exists a greater degree of humidity than in places divested of that clothing, is a fact which experience has placed beyond all doubt. But it is a circumstance which may be remarked, that in no part of St. Helena are trees so numerous as at Long Wood,

and yet few situations on the island are so little benefited by rain: whilst a barren eminence, not above two miles distant from it, is deluged with torrents. During the fourteen years that Lieutenant-Governor Robson had his official residence at Long Wood, it was his constant complaint, that, when flattered by hopes of deriving benefit from clouds which he saw rise to windward and approach towards his grounds, his expectations were disappointed by a change in their direction towards the higher grounds, whether wooded or barren.

The clouds, floating at a certain height in the atmosphere, yield humidity to the higher parts of the island without discharging any moisture on the low lands; where, after a long continuance of drought, the roots of grass, &c. perish. The earth, in consequence, loses its adhesion, and when a heavy fall of rain occurs, it is washed from the declivities, which are thus divested of the means of vegetation, and either deepen into gullies, or stand in the form of prominences, where the texture is sufficiently hard to resist the effects of the rain; which seems to be the natural history of all the barren ridges that in fantastic figures terminate abruptly at the sea, and form the exterior of the island.

From these causes the luxuriance of vegetation increases in proportion to distance and height from the sea; and upon the very summits of the interior hills oxen are to be seen up to their knees in grass; and the process of digestion being forwarded by the repose which the animal enjoys from the general diffusion of springs in those situations, the upper lands are, on every account, regarded as the prime pastures of the island; whereas the ridges and ravines, which diverge towards the sea from the central eminences, have their verdure and their water distinct. The native wire-grass may cover the ridge, while the water from the central springs seeks the bottom of the valleys. The nourishment which ought to be combined is thus separated; and the animal must toil in descending for the one or re-ascending for the other, to have the process of nature in the generation of nourishment fulfilled. In severe droughts, the cattle have died by the side of the water, unable to regain the scanty pittance of grass which the ridge might afford.

Fruits, particularly vines, figs, oranges, and lemons, ripen best in the valleys near the sea; which are also well adapted to the growth of plantains and bonanoes; all these fruits requir-

ing a great degree of heat, and the enriched soil and shelter of the valleys. From a garden more interior, but finely watered and sheltered, of no greater extent than three acres of ground, 24,000 dozen apples, of a large size, were gathered in one season, besides peaches, guavas, grapes, and figs, in abundance. Cherries have been tried, but without success. Gooseberry and currant bushes turn to evergreens, and do not bear fruit. The island, however, is not to be considered as possessing a general fertility. The greater part of it is a barren, reluctant waste. Even in the best cultivated and richest spots, that often make abundant returns, the expectations of the gardener are frequently disappointed; and from occasional causes in the earth or the atmosphere, his labour is defeated, and his crops often fail.

A species of yam, introduced from Madagascar, is cultivated principally in the valleys. It requires almost a constant soak of water, for fifteen months, to bring it to perfection. In its raw state, it has an acrid, and almost a caustic quality; but after many hours boiling, it becomes a wholesome and nourishing food. The attention of the farmers, however, has, for the last eighteen years, been peculiarly directed to

the cultivation of potatoes, for the obvious reason, that three, and sometimes four, crops of that vegetable can be produced for one of yam, independently of their finding a more ready sale to the ships. Cabbages, pease, beans, and other vegetables, are raised in abundance.

The fern-tree grows, in the upper lands, to a size larger than in most countries, and is in request by botanists in England; and the myrtle, to which the climate seems peculiarly adapted, attains a height of near to thirty feet. The sort of grass that prevails in the higher parts is the English vernal grass; and in the low lands, the wire-grass, or doop, which is extremely sweet and nutritious, and suffers less from dry and hot weather than any other sort. But it has been supplanted, to the injury of many pastures, by a coarse herb, called cow-grass, originally from the Cape of Good Hope, which is now extremely common. Lucerne is found to succeed in some situations; and if it could be more generally cultivated, it would prove exceedingly advantageous. The exterior crust of the island, near the sea, produces, spontaneously, a shrub, to which the natives give the name of samphire; but it is probably the barilla, as its ashes yield a

large quantity of marine alkali, with which a good soap has been manufactured.

The breed of cattle and sheep on the island is originally English. The beef is of an excellent quality; but, in consequence of the great demand from the Company's shipping for fresh provisions, a bullock is seldom allowed to attain the age of four years. Rabbits abound in some situations; pheasants and partridges are become numerous, since the Government has given them protection; and every garden is enlivened by the notes of the canary-bird. Guinea-fowl, with which the island was once well stocked, are now seldom to be seen.

Of fish it has been computed that seventy-six species frequent the coast. Those most commonly taken and used, are mackarel, albacore, cavalloes, jacks, congers, soldiers, old-wives, and bull's-eyes; and of shell-fish, long-legs and stumps. The two last resemble the lobster in taste and colour, and have the same kind of tail. Rock-oysters are found in some situations, hardly distinguishable from the rock, forming a solid congeries, which may be separated into distinct fish. The coal-fish, so called from the

black hue of its skin, is from two to three feet in length, and very thick about the neck ; it is singularly high-flavoured and delicate, and not unlike a salmon in taste ; but so scarce, that seldom more than six or eight are caught in a year. The flying-fish about the shores of St. Helena, when pursued by porpoises, sharks, or other rapacious enemies, often meet death in a different element by dropping on the rocks. Some of them have been picked up in this situation which measured more than two feet in length, a size to which they are supposed seldom to attain in other parts of the world. The general mode of fishing practised here is that by hook and line, either from the shore, or from boats moored either by a stone or a grapnel. Whales are frequently seen, and have, in a few instances, been killed by South-Sea whalers in the Roads. Between the months of December and March turtle frequent the island, and are often taken by the fishing-boats.

The shores and neighbourhood of the island abound in sea-fowl, which deposit their eggs in the cliffs and detached rocks around the coast. Their haunts, covered with white dung, exhibit a fantastic appearance upon an insulated rock, called Shore Island, being sometimes mistaken

for a ship under sail. Their eggs are collected in the months of October and November, and in flavour somewhat resemble those of a plover. One species of these fowl, however, prefer making their nests in the woody, central eminences of the island, and are often seen flying across the country with a fish in their beaks.

Upon an average of five years, viz. from 1801 to 1805 inclusive, 165 ships touch annually at St. Helena; and in war time, the long detention for convoy experienced by large fleets (the crews and passengers of which are frequently equal to the whole population of the island), occasions such an extra consumption of stock and refreshments, that the mere productions of the island itself could never be adequate to such exigencies, were it not supplied with ample quantities of salt meat from England, and of rice from Bengal. These articles, as they are cheaper than fresh provisions, constitute the principal food of the inhabitants and garrison. Salt meat is issued to them from the Company's stores, under prime cost, and every other article at only ten per cent. advance, including freight. Beef is now sold at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per pound alive, having been lately raised to that price; and, as it is principally destined for the King's or the Com-

pany's shipping, no person can kill even his own ox without permission from the Governor—a rule which has existed since the year 1752. The market-prices of other articles of provision vary according to the demand ; in the year 1805 the rates were as follow :

Mutton, from 14 to 18d. per lb.
Pork, from 18 to 20d. per ditto.
Grown fowls, 9 to 12s. each.
Turkeys, 30 to 40s. ditto.
Geese, 25 to 30s. ditto.
Ducks, 10 to 12s. ditto.
Potatoes, 8 to 10s. per bushel.
Milk, 4d. to 6d. per quart.
Eggs, 5s. per dozen.

FISH.

Mackarel, 8d. per dozen.
Bull's-eyes, 9d. per ditto.
Albacore, baracoota, dolphins, and bonito, 2d. per lb.
Turtle and coal-fish, 8d. per ditto.
Conger, conger-eels, cavalloes, silver-fish, and old-wives, 3d. per lb.
Stumps and soldiers, 2d. each.
Long-legs, 6d. each.

Shortly after the first settlement of St. Helena, the Company were anxious that experiments should be made to ascertain its resources and capability. Indigo, cotton, sugar-canies, and vines, were introduced. Rum, sugar, wine, and brandy, were brought to some degree of perfection; and, at a more recent period, crops of barley, and other grain, were raised at Long-Wood, which were subsequently found not to answer. The intrinsic value of St. Helena consisting in its local situation, as a place of refreshment and rendezvous for the homeward-bound ships from India, the attention of the Court of Directors has been confined to the objects which most conduced to that important purpose. On this ground, even the cultivation of corn has been deemed of less consequence than that every acre should be appropriated to raising live-stock, roots, and culinary vegetables. As the island, on this account, cannot be devoted to commercial produce, its profits or revenues must consequently be very small, and its annual expense to the proprietors considerable. The returns which it makes for this expenditure apply to the accommodation and the security of the Company's commerce, against the hazards of the sea and the hostilities of an enemy. Its waters, its vegetables, and its climate, seem

peculiarly adapted to the recovery of scorbutic patients; and instances frequently occur of those who have been sent to the hospital in the last stages of the sea-scurvy, in the course of two or three weeks being restored to perfect health, vigour, and activity.

By the registered returns of the year 1805, the population of the island is stated at 504 white inhabitants, 1560 blacks, of whom 329 were free; making a total of 2064, exclusive of the garrison and civil establishment of the Company. Five thousand one hundred and eight acres are in the hands of individuals, besides goat-ranges, which are the outskirts of the island, affording the chief supply of fresh meat both to the inhabitants and the hospital.

Lands, in general, are supposed to yield a nett profit of between 7 and 8 per cent. The price of labour is high; a carpenter cannot be hired under six or seven shillings a day. A mason's wages vary from four to five shillings; and those of a labourer from two shillings to half-a-crown, or to a black man, engaged by the year, from ten to twenty pounds. In this case clothing is likewise to be provided, as well as maintenance, and medical attendance in the event of sickness.

The value of slaves depends very much upon their character. The sum of 150l. has been paid for a good husbandman, but a man of bad character may be purchased for 30l. The price of this species of labour, comparatively with that of a free man, is always high, because the slave is only influenced by the desire of avoiding stripes; and exceptions to this rule constitute estimable characters. To obviate as much as possible this degrading defect, a plan has lately been adopted by Governor Patton, and a subscription set on foot, for distributing to the slaves honorary medals and pecuniary rewards, proportioned to their merit, from which great advantages have already resulted; and if the system be followed up, the most important effects may be expected, both in a moral and political point of view. The total want of religious instruction among this class of people has, doubtless, contributed to their depravity; for the amendment of which a regular attendance at public wership has been enjoined, under police regulations.

Although it must be confessed that, prior to the promulgation of the present slave-laws, instances have now and then occurred of barbarous cruelty towards slaves; yet that vice by no

means forms a common feature in the character of the white inhabitants; who, on the contrary, in general approve themselves humane and kind masters.

The island comprises only one parish; but, for the more regular performance of the county and parish officers' duties, it is divided into three districts, viz. the east, the west, and the south, or Sandy Bay division. There are two churches, one in the town, and another in the country. Strangers, whilst they remain at the island, are accommodated in private houses, at the rate of one guinea per day; for which an excellent table, good wines, and comfortable lodgings, are provided.

By repeated charters from the Crown of Great Britain, the possession of St. Helena is assigned in perpetual property to the East India Company as Lords Proprietors, with powers of sovereignty and legislation. The supreme and executive authority within the island, is vested in the Governor, and a Council composed of the Lieutenant-Governor and senior civil servant*.

* To this number is occasionally added a fourth member, and sometimes a fifth, as the Court of Directors judge proper. At present the Council consists of four.

They are the immediate representatives of the Lords Proprietors, and the superintending agents of all their concerns at the island. They are also justices of the peace, and commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery, and they exercise the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Court, in granting letters of administration, and proving wills, &c. The Governor is exclusively intrusted with the powers of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. When the Council are not assembled, the authority of the whole board concentrates in him ; and, by charter from the Crown, when there is occasion, he may exercise the powers of Captain-General.

The civil establishment consists of an Accountant, Pay-master, Store-keeper, and the Secretary to Government, with their assistants, some of whom are the heads of inferior departments ; and promotions take place by seniority.

The military force of the island is composed of a corps of artillery, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel ; a regiment of infantry, and five companies of white and black militia, who are at present upon the footing of volunteers.

The Governor is allowed a town and country

residence, and a liberal table, at the Company's expense, with servants, horses, &c. The Lieutenant-Governor has likewise the privilege of a town and country house, some land, servants, and a few horses. The other member or members of Council are each allowed a town residence; and, by the orders of the Court of Directors, dated 1796, the remaining Company's houses were allotted to the two senior civil servants next to Council, the Engineer, Chaplain, and head Surgeon. There are not, at present, barracks for a third part of the garrison officers; and house-rent is not only very high, but at times it is impossible to procure a lodging. From these circumstances the Company's servants have experienced much inconvenience.

The primary formation of the island, or the cause of its original existence, forms a curious subject for philosophical conjecture, but does not belong to the recorder of occurrences which succeeded to the event of its discovery. The general supposition is, that if the island did not owe its first existence to fire, it certainly had been subsequently exposed to the influence of that active element; of which the volcanic pro-

ductions so abundant upon its surface, emulating those of Sicily and Italy, give sufficient confirmation. This much is all that it is expedient here to mention; more especially as an inquiry into this subject has occupied the talents of a writer much better qualified for such a research, in the philosophical description of the island, published in the year 1805; to which the reader is referred, if he be desirous to examine into the natural history of St. Helena, as well as into the civil and political occurrences which succeeded to its occupation.

One observation, however, occurs upon a remark of that writer, suggested by the records of the island, which it may be proper to mention. He assigns reasons for adopting the opinion that no apprehension need now be entertained that the island will again be visited by any convulsions of nature; in which it is devoutly to be wished that his judgement may be confirmed. But in a letter from the Governor and Council, which is dated on the 16th of June 1756, the following passage occurs: “ On the 7th instant, “ a little before seven o’clock in the morning, “ were sensibly felt, in several parts of the island, “ two small shocks of an earthquake, but did

“ no manner of harm.” Some of the most respectable of the present inhabitants of the island have likewise affirmed, that a sensation was felt by a variety of people of credibility, in different situations upon the island, at the same instant, like a trembling of the earth, accompanied with a noise resembling distant thunder, in the year 1782, by which the glasses on a side-board were agitated, and struck against each other; and a number of blacks, who were employed in a yam plantation, were so terrified as to abandon their work.

After thus having suggested the apprehended possibility of so dreadful a calamity revisiting the island, against the reasoning of an intelligent writer, who represents it as unlikely, it behoves us to re-consider the peculiar comforts and advantages which its inhabitants at present enjoy. St. Helena is gifted with considerable attractions and advantages, both local and natural: the temperature and salubrity of the climate are not exceeded in any part of the world; the variations of heat and cold are moderate, and generally fluctuate near the point most congenial to animal existence; it is fanned by a constant and equable wind, surrounded by plenty and variety

of fish, and refreshed by numerous springs of excellent water; the seclusion of its inhabitants is relieved by the frequent arrival of visitants; and this intercourse chequers and corrects their uniformity of life, and tends to improve both the manners and the mind. The climate seems to be peculiarly adapted to the constitutions of Europeans, of whom many have resided here for a long series of years without suffering any malady. The only endemic disorders to which the natives are subject, are of the catarrhal kind: these, as they belong to the inflammatory class, may in some measure account, notwithstanding their general robust health, for the few instances among the islanders of longevity; according to the information of a professional friend, who has assisted this account with his opinion and judgement.

The anchorage in the Road is safe and sheltered; and though the vessels riding there sometimes drive to sea, this is owing rather to the steep declivity of the bank, than to the force or impression of the wind. The surf is occasionally high and dangerous; but the ocean beyond it is never ruffled by those hurricanes which in other climates occasion so much distress. The

approach from the south-east is smooth and commodious; and on departing for Europe, the ship glides away before a gentle and a steady breeze.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE ISLAND, TO
THE YEAR 1673.

Discovery of the Island.—Its first inhabitants.—The Portuguese abandon St. Helena.—The Dutch settle on it, and likewise abandon it.—Settlement formed by the East-India Company, and confirmed by charter.—The Island taken by the Dutch, and retaken the same year.—Taken again by the Dutch, and recovered by Sir Richard Munden.

AT the period of the discovery of a passage to the Eastern World by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, the traffic between Europe and India was carried on by the Moors. This jealous people, regarding the arrival of the Portuguese in that quarter as an alarming invasion of their commerce, determined, by secret treachery as well as open hostility, to circumvent the projects of such formidable rivals. Their intrigues, and the perfidy of the Zamorim of Calicut, involved the Portuguese in a war with

that prince; and King Emmanuel, to give a decided superiority to the Portuguese arms, equipped a fleet of twenty sail for the eastern seas. This armament was commanded by the celebrated Vasco de Gama, who proceeded a second time on a voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. But before he sailed from Lisbon, three ships had been dispatched as a reinforcement to Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, the Portuguese admiral in India. This small force, under the command of John de Nova, a gentleman of noble family, attacked and defeated a fleet belonging to the Zamorim. Nova having been shortly after appointed commodore of the returning ships from India, discovered, on the 21st of May 1501 (the anniversary of Helena, mother to the Emperor Constantine), the island which is the subject of the present pages, three years and six months after De Gama had first doubled the southern promontory of Africa. The event was attended by the loss of one of the fleet*, which a tradition (now nearly forgotten) states to have happened off Deep Valley. St. Helena was then inhabited only by sea-fowl, and occasionally by seals, sea-lions, and turtle. No other animals are said to have been found

* Roggewein's Voyage.

upon it, and it is supposed that this was the first time its shore had ever been visited by human footstep. The interior of the island was one entire forest ; and even some of the precipices overhanging the sea were covered with gum-wood trees. The other indigenous productions, besides the trees and shrubs mentioned in the preceding chapter, were the wire or doop grass of India, wild celery, samphire, and probably purslain, and water-cresses, which, with the advantage of fine water in abundance, a mild climate, productive soil, and commodious anchorage, situated in the direct track of ships sailing from India to Europe, rendered St. Helena of infinite importance in the estimation of its discoverers.

But what chiefly contributed to improve its advantages, were the labours of Fernandez Lopez, an unfortunate nobleman, of whom a curious incident is recorded in a Portuguese history of their discoveries, and is corroborated by a note in the Introduction to Camoens' *Lusiad*. After a victory gained near Goa by the celebrated Alphonso Albuquerque [their Governor-General], the Indian commander, Rosto Mocus, was compelled by the articles of capitulation to give up some Portuguese noblemen who had

deserted, and become apostates. They were delivered up, on condition that their lives should be spared; but Albuquerque determined to make a terrible example; and after mutilating them in the most cruel manner, by cutting off their noses, ears, right hands, and the little finger of their left hands, sent them on board the ships for Europe. Thus degraded and mangled, the prospect of re-visiting friends and country afforded no consolation to the mind of Fernandez Lopez, one of the sufferers. Unwilling to encounter the ignominy which his crimes had occasioned, he preferred a voluntary exile; and was, in the year 1513, at his own request, landed at St. Helena, with a few negro slaves. Such were the first inhabitants of the island. It often happens, that when the degree of punishment exceeds, or is even no more than proportioned to the crime, indignation against the offender is lost in commiseration of his sufferings: and it is not surprising that many were solicitous to afford Lopez every comfort and convenience which his forlorn condition would admit. Hogs, goats, and poultry, were landed for his sustenance; partridges, pheasants, guinea-fowl, peacocks, and other wild fowl, were let loose; roots and vegetables of various sorts were also introduced, and figs, oranges, lemons, and peach-

trees planted. A taste for botany and gardening proved a seasonable relief to his wretchedness, and lightened the burden of many an hour. His knowledge in the management of fruit-trees enabled him to select the situations best suited to each kind, and to bring them to great perfection. Supplies of moisture for his plantations and garden-grounds were obtained from several springs, the discovery of which is ascribed to his researches. The live-stock and wild-fowl increased abundantly under his fostering protection, and in a few years overspread the face of the country. In occupations like these, more humble, but assuredly more praiseworthy, than those that had recently engaged his attention, he passed four years; at the end of which period he was removed from the island by orders from Portugal*.

The Portuguese were anxious to conceal the situation of the island from the knowledge of other nations, and are said to have succeeded in keeping the secret until the 8th of June 1588†,

* Roggewein's Voyage.

† This is mentioned upon the authority of a MS. containing extracts and memoranda, collected at different times by Lieutenant Thomas Leech, a native of the island;

when it was descried, at day-break, about seven or eight leagues distance, by Captain Cavendish, who was on his return from a circumnavigating voyage. The lightness of the breeze prevented him from getting in that day; but the following morning a boat was sent to discover a convenient anchorage, which was chosen opposite Chapel Valley, in twelve fathom water. The state of the island at that period is circumstantially described by the writer of Captain Cavendish's voyage, in the following words: "The same day, about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, we went on shore, where we found an exceeding fair and pleasant valley, where in divers handsome buildings and houses were set up; and one particularly, which was a church, was tiled, and whitened on the outside very fair, and made with a porch; and within the church, at the upper end, was set an altar, whereon stood a very large table, set in a frame, having on it the picture of our Saviour Christ upon the cross, and the image of our Lady praying, with divers other histo-

who, by his unwearied pursuits in historical research, and his surprisingly retentive memory, had acquired a great degree of general information.

“ ries painted curiously on the same. The sides
“ of the church were hung round with stained
“ cloths, having many devices drawn on them.

“ There are two houses adjoining to the
“ church, on each side one, which served for
“ a kitchen to dress meat in, with necessary
“ rooms, and houses of office. The coverings
“ of the said houses are made flat, where is
“ planted a very fair vine; and through both
“ the said houses runneth a very good and
“ wholesome stream of fresh water.

“ There is also over and against the church a
“ very fair causeway, made up with stones,
“ reaching unto a valley by the sea side, in
“ which valley is planted a garden, wherein
“ grows a great store of pompions and melons;
“ and upon the said causeway is a frame erected;
“ whereon hang two bells, wherewith they ring
“ to mass; and near to it a cross is set up,
“ which is squared, framed, and made very
“ artificially of free-stone, whereon is carved in
“ cyphers what time it was built, which was in
“ the year of our Lord 1571.

“ The valley is the fairest and largest low

“ plot in all the island, and is exceedingly sweet
“ and pleasant, and planted in every place
“ either with fruit or with herbs.

“ There are fig-trees which bear fruit conti-
“ nually, and very plentifully; for on every tree
“ you may see blossoms, green figs, and ripe
“ figs, all at once, and it is so all the year long.
“ The reason is, that the island standeth so near
“ the sun. There is also great store of lemon-
“ trees, orange-trees, pomegranate-trees, pomic-
“ citron-trees, and date-trees, which bear fruit
“ as the fig-trees do, and are planted carefully,
“ and very artificially, with pleasant walks un-
“ der and between them; and the said walks
“ are overshadowed with the leaves of the trees;
“ and in every void place is planted parsley,
“ sorrel, basil, fennel, anniseed, mustard-seed,
“ radishes, and many very good herbs. The
“ fresh-water brook runneth through divers
“ places of this orchard, and may, with very
“ small pains, be made to water any tree in the
“ valley.

“ This fresh-water stream cometh from the
“ tops of the mountains, and falleth from the
“ cliff into the valley the height of a cable, and
“ hath many arms issuing out of it, that refresh

“ the whole island, and almost every tree in it.
“ The island is altogether high mountains and
“ steep valleys, except it be on the tops of some
“ hills, and down below in some of the valleys,
“ where great plenty of all those fruits before
“ spoken of do grow. There are much more
“ growing on the tops of the mountains than
“ below in the valleys; but it is very toilsome
“ and dangerous travelling up unto them and
“ down again, by reason of the height and
“ steepness of the hills.

“ There are also upon this island great store
“ of partridges, which are very tame, not
“ making any great haste to fly away, though
“ one come very near them, but only run away,
“ and get up into the cliffs. We killed some
“ of them with a fowling-piece. They differ
“ very much from our partridges which are in
“ England, both in bigness and also in colour,
“ and live in coveys, twelve, sixteen, and twenty
“ together. You cannot go ten or twelve score
“ paces but you shall spring one or two coveys
“ at least.

“ There are likewise no less plenty of pheasants in the island, which are also very big
“ and fat, surpassing those which are in our

“ country in bigness and numbers in a company; they differ not very much in colour from the partridges before spoken of. We found moreover in this island plenty of guineacocks, which we call turkeys, of colour black and white, with red heads; they are much the same in bigness with ours in England; their eggs are white, and as big as a turkey's egg.

“ There are in this island thousands of goats, which the Spaniards call cabritos, which are very wild; you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may see them go in a flock almost a mile long; some of them (whether it be the nature of the breed of them, or the country, I know not) are as big as an ass, with a mane like a horse, and a beard hanging down to the very ground; they will climb up the cliffs, which are so steep that a man would think it impossible that any living creature could go there. We took and killed many of them, for all their swiftness, for there are thousands of them upon the mountains.

“ Here are, in like manner, great store of swine, which are very wild and fat, and of great bigness; they keep altogether upon the

“ mountains, and will very seldom abide any
“ man to come near them, except it be by
“ mere chance, when they are found asleep, or
“ otherwise, according to their kind, are taken
“ lying in the mire.

“ We found in the houses, at our coming,
“ three slaves, who were Negroes, and one who
“ was born in the island of Java, who told us
“ that the East Indian fleet, which were in num-
“ ber five sail, the least whereof was in burden
“ eight or nine hundred tons, all laden with
“ spices and Calicut cloth, with store of trea-
“ sure, and very rich stones and pearls, were
“ gone from the said island of St. Helena but
“ twenty days before we came hither.

“ When the Portuguese touch at the island,
“ they have all things in plenty for their relief,
“ by reason that they suffer none to inhabit
“ there that might eat up all the produce of the
“ island, except some very few sick persons of
“ their company, whom they suspect will not
“ live until they come home; these they leave
“ there to refresh themselves, and take them
“ away the year following, with the other fleet,
“ if they live so long.” Captain Cavendish re-
mained at the island twelve days.

The next British commander that visited St. Helena was Captain Abraham Kendall, of the ship Royal Merchant: which, with the Penelope, Captain Raymond, and the Bonaventure, Captain James Lancaster, were fitted out from London, in the year 1591, on an East-India voyage. On their arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, the Royal Merchant, was obliged to put back to England. The other two ships were afterwards separated in a violent gale of wind, and the Admiral was never heard of more. Captain Lancaster proceeded to India; and, after many disasters, reached St. Helena on the 3rd of April 1593. Here he found a man (John Segar) who had formerly belonged to the Royal Merchant, and had been left behind, from that ship, on her return home. The poor creature was diseased in his mind, apparently from apprehensions that all probability was cut off of re-visiting his native land; and such was the effect of his joy, at once more beholding the faces of his countrymen, that for eight days he took no natural rest, and died, literally for want of sleep*. Captain Lancaster remained nineteen days at St. Helena; from whence he was compelled by distress to steer to

* Hackluyt's Voyages.

St. Domingo, where his ship drove out to sea, with only five men on board, and Captain Lancaster arrived in England, in a French vessel, the 24th of May 1594. This was the first voyage undertaken to India by English merchants; and a second was equally unfortunate; for out of three ships, which sailed in 1596 from England, not one returned. No further attempt was made by the English to open a traffic with the East, until the incorporation of the India Company. That event, so memorable in the commercial annals of England, took place in the year 1600, under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth. They opened their concern with a capital of seventy-two thousand pounds; part of which was immediately laid out in the equipment of four ships, viz. the Dragon, Hector, Ascension, and Susan, all under the command of Captain Lancaster. In the occurrences of this voyage the importance of St. Helena was most advantageously experienced by the Company. After successful negotiations, by which the Indian trade was opened and established, the Ascension and Susan were sent to England, laden with spices, and were followed by Captain Lancaster, in the Dragon, accompanied by the Hector. These two ships encountered a violent tempest, off the Cape of Good Hope,

which occasioned the loss of the Dragon's rudder; and after extreme difficulties and hardships, they reached St. Helena on the 16th of June. In the shelter of this safe and commodious haven Captain Lancaster repaired his damages, whilst an abundance of wild goats and other refreshments, obtained on shore, gave new vigour and renovation to his exhausted men; and on the 11th of September 1603 they arrived safe in England.

At this period St. Helena was likewise known to the Dutch and Spaniards; and their ships' crews not only procured refreshment during their stay, but the salt, deposited by the sea-water in the hollows of rocks, was applied in curing the fresh provisions for sea store. The Dutch, however, are accused of destroying the stock, and laying waste the plantations, to distress the Spaniards; who, in their turn, are charged with retaliation by repeating the mischief*.

* At an auction of a planter's effects on the island, some years ago, several very old books were sold; among the number was a kind of geographical treatise. In this, after mentioning the discovery of the island on the anniversary of Helena, its fertility, and productions, the following circumstances are stated: " Yet this isle is not inhabited, but

The ambition of the court of Lisbon to acquire Eastern dominion was well seconded by some of

“ serves for the English, Portugals, Spaniards, and Hollanders to refresh themselves in going, but, for the most part, in returning from the Indies, it being sufficient to furnish ships with provisions for their voyage, here being salt to preserve the meat from stinking; and besides the air is so healthful that they often leave their sick people there, who, in a short time, are restored to perfect health, and, by the next ships that put in there, are taken again; during which time they find wherewithal to feed them. But some years ago the Hollanders ruined all that was good, only to spight the Spaniards, who afterwards did the same, that the English, Hollanders, &c. might have no profit by it.”

This is in some degree confirmed by Tavernier, in the following words :

“ Il y a quantité de citronniers & quelques orangers, que les Portugais avoient autrefois plantez. Car cette nation à cela de bon, que là où elle est, elle tâche de faire quelque chose pour le bien de ceux qui doivent venir ensuite dans le mesme lieu; les Hollandois font tout le contraire, & tâchent de détruire tout, afin que ceux qui pourroient venir après eux ne trouvent rien. Il est vray que ce ne sont pas les Chefs qui en usent de la sorte; mais la pluspart de matelots & soldats, qui se disent l'un à l'autre, nous n'y reviendrons plus, & qui pour avoir plutôt le fruit l'arbre le coupent par le pied au lieu de le cueillir.”

Voyages de Tavernier, t. 2. p. 569.

its viceroys there, who carried their conquests from the confines of China to the eastern shores of Africa; and the Portuguese flag was displayed in the ports of Sofola, Mombaza, Melinda, Magadoza, Mozambique, and other places. These acquisitions seem, in their opinion, to have obviated the necessity of retaining St. Helena, which was accordingly deserted, and remained for a long time desolate*. It is, indeed, asserted, that the Portuguese were driven out of it by the Dutch, who succeeded the former in the possession of the island, and retained it till the year 1651, when they established a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, and abandoned St. Helena. On this event, the English East-India Company settled on it in the same year; and obtained, ten years after, a continuation of it to them, by charter from King Charles the Second. By this charter they were privileged to export for the infant colony, duty free, all kinds of provisions, stores, ordnance, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the supply and defence of whatever garrisons or fortifications they might think proper to maintain, or erect, on the island; they were also empowered to send thither any persons desirous of becom-

* Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 527.

ing settlers, and to govern them in such legal and reasonable manner as the Company might judge fit*. The offers held out upon this occasion were accepted by many; who, on their arrival, had lands allotted them. Additional supplies of black cattle were procured from Madagascar; yams were introduced from the same quarter. Some slaves were likewise imported from thence, to work in the plantations; and, after the year 1666, the island received a considerable increase of inhabitants by the dreadful fire in London, which ruined so many families, and, like other public calamities, induced numbers to seek relief in distant climes. An opinion has prevailed, that St. Helena was assigned, together with Bombay and Tangier, by the Portuguese, to the English, as part of the dower of Catherine, Queen to Charles the Second; but this supposition is not justified by any authentic information, and is evidently erroneous, as the marriage of King Charles with that Princess did not take place until two years after he had assigned St. Helena, by charter, to the Company.

The Dutch, probably regretting the advantages they had relinquished in the safe and con-

* See Appendix, A.

venient port of St. Helena, as well as from a desire to distress our commerce, availed themselves of the war which broke out between England and Holland, in the year 1665, and made a successful attack on the island; but they did not long retain their conquest; for, in less than twelve months, the English again recovered their possession. This occurrence is twice noticed in Anderson's History of Commerce, but he does not mention any particulars*.

No fortifications seem to have been built on it by the Portuguese or Dutch. The first fort of which we have any information, is said to have been a triangular redoubt, erected in the year 1665, on the site of the present Government-house, and called Fort James, probably in compliment to the Duke of York (afterwards King James the Second), who was an active patron of commerce, and at the head of an African Company. The appellation of James's Valley is derived from the old fort, and that of Chapel Valley from the Portuguese chapel, the ruins of which were visible when the island was first settled by the English. This chapel was constructed with the timber saved from the Por-

* Vol. ii. p. 483 and 527.

tuguese ship that had been wrecked off Deep Valley *. It is mentioned by Tavernier, who visited St. Helena in 1649, as having been the residence of a Portuguese Franciscan for the period of fourteen years†.

From the deficiency of records, until the year 1673, it is impossible to attain a particular knowledge of events prior to that period. Oral tradition must, therefore, supply the want of more authentic documents. The memory of an

* Roggewein's Voyage.

† " Il n'y a qu'une petite place proche de la mer, où
 " autrefois on avoit bâti une chapelle, & où un religieux
 " Portugais de l'observance de S. François a vécu quatorze
 " ans; mais à présent cette chapelle est à moitié rompue.
 " Pendant que ce religieux a esté-là il faisoit du bien aux
 " vaisseaux qui y abordoient, leur fournissant de poisson
 " qu'il peschoit & faisoit secher, & on lui donnoit en
 " échange du ris, du biscuit, & du vin d'Espagne. Après
 " qu'il eut demeuré la le temps que j'ay dit, & mené une
 " vie fort austere, il tomba malade, & le bon heur voulut
 " qu'il arriva alors un vaisseau Portugais. On fit toute ce
 " qu'on put pour le secourir; mais il mourut au bout de
 " cinq jours que le vaisseau eut jetté l'ancre, & il fut en-
 " terré par ceux de sa nation."

Voyages de Tavernier, t. 2. p. 568 & 9.

aged slave*, who had been brought to the island at the time of its first settlement by the English, is the only authority we have for the names of the first five Governors, viz. Dutton, Stringer, Swallow, Coney, and Bennett. The next successor was Captain Anthony Beale; during whose government, in the latter part of the year 1672, the Dutch attempted to land at Lemon Valley, but were assailed by such tremendous showers of rocks and stones, rolled upon them from the precipices on either side, that they found a further advance impracticable. They retreated to their ships, and remained off the island until night; when they were directed, by the light of a fire, to a landing-place, called Bennett's Point, said to have derived that appellation from the planter's name who kept watch with his slave there. The commonly received opinion is, that the Dutch killed the planter, and that the slave guided them up the country;

* This man was called Old Will; respecting whom the following memorandum appears in the first page of Book No. 22 in the St. Helena Consultations: "Old Will, aged " one hundred years; and hath faithfully served the Com- " pany ever since the English had this island, under the " command of twenty-one Governors, and when he came " to this island he brought three yams, nine head of cattle, " and two turtle-doves, from Madagascar."

but there is also a report that the master offered his services to the enemy, and that the slave was put to death, to prevent his giving evidence, at any subsequent period, of that treachery. The latter account is more consistent with a statement, mentioned twelve years after this period, on record; wherein W. Coxe, a planter, is declared to have been the person who betrayed the island to the Dutch. If this was the case, the landing-place probably took its name from its having been adopted as a post of observation by Governor Bennett. The enemy, consisting of about five hundred men, marched up Swanley Valley: but this access must have since undergone a great change (apparently from repeated torrents of rain), as very few, among the most active and agile natives of the island, can now travel there, without infinite difficulty and danger. Upon the arrival of the Dutch near High Peak, it is said they were met by a detachment from the garrison, and a skirmish ensued, in which the English were overpowered by numbers, and routed. The victors then proceeded to Ladder Hill, and marched a party down to attack the fort, where they were repulsed several times; but as they were in possession of the hill, which completely commands the town, the English Governor did not deem the fort tenable,

and retired, with his people and their most valuable effects, on board some English and French ships then in the Roads.

In the list of Governors contained in Lieutenant Leech's MS. the name of Dyke appears, as successor to Kedgwin; but the official records prove, that the latter was immediately succeeded by Field. Dyke must, therefore, have been the Dutch officer's name who was left in command when the island was taken; and, consequently, the predecessor, not the successor, of Kedgwin. Whatever records might have been extant at this period, must have been either lost, or destroyed, or taken away by Governor Beale, as it is not known that any were found when the English recovered their possession: but information respecting several occurrences which happened immediately after that event, had been preserved in some notes and memoranda, by a very respectable and intelligent inhabitant, who died, at an advanced age, in the year 1769*. As this gentleman had frequent opportunities of conversing with those who had a perfect recol-

* The worthy Mr. Richard Beale, a native of the island, who for many years fulfilled the duties of schoolmaster there, with credit to himself, and infinite advantage to the community.

lection of the circumstances, and as his testimony is corroborated, in some material points, by the official records, we have every reason to believe it correct. The ships in which the Governor and his followers sought refuge proceeded to the coast of Brazil, where a British squadron, consisting of his Majesty's ships Assistance, Levant, and Castle fire-ship; and the Company's ship Mary and Martha soon after arrived*. The squadron was commanded by Captain (afterwards Sir Richard) Munden, who appears to have been ordered to St. Helena for the purpose of giving convoy to the East-India homeward-bound fleet. That he should have gone so far to the westward as the coast of South America is not surprising, when we consider the very circuitous track pursued in times much more recent, by ships performing the same passage. This deviation from the direct course afforded him intelligence of the capture of the island, and enabled him to make the necessary preparations for its recovery, which he was resolved to attempt.

* A ship, called the William and Thomas, also accompanied Munden's squadron, or else arrived at St. Helena prior to his departure from it, as thirty-seven of this ship's company were left to form part of the garrison.

Among those that retreated from St. Helena with Governor Beale, was a negro, called Black Oliver, who had lived some years on the island, and had a thorough knowledge of its interior, as well as exterior, parts. This man, on his arrival at Brazil, was sold to a Portuguese there, from whom Sir Richard redeemed him, and had reason to congratulate himself on the happy consequences which resulted from this transaction. The squadron arrived off the island about the evening of the 14th of May 1673, unobserved by the Dutch; who, had they kept any kind of look out, might have made an opposition that would have occasioned some bloodshed. On the following morning, about three o'clock, a party of two hundred men, commanded by Captain R. Kedgwin*, an officer of the Assistance, were conducted by the faithful Oliver to Prosperous Bay (whence its name). They landed at a place now called Kedgwin's Rock, and proceeded to an accessible part of the pre-

* It is generally supposed that Mr. Kedgwin was a Lieutenant belonging to the Assistance; but he is called Captain Kedgwin in the list of persons who were left at St. Helena by Sir Richard Munden. This may be accounted for by the supposition that Sir Richard held the rank of Commodore, and that Kedgwin was Captain of the Assistance.

cipice above the bay, which the most active man of the party ascended, taking with him a ball of twine, to which a rope was afterwards fastened, and hauled up, and thus enabled the others to follow. Whilst he was in the act of climbing this difficult ascent, his comrades below frequently called to him by name to hold fast, and “hold fast, Tom,” is the appellation by which the spot has been ever since known. Jonathan Higham, a soldier employed on this service, who afterwards settled on the island, was often heard to say, that, had twenty men opposed them from above, their advance would have been effectually prevented. After the whole detachment gained the heights, they marched, through Long Wood, to the Huts, where they arrived about day-break; and, after stopping for refreshment at a farm-house there, the ruins of which are still to be seen, they proceeded to the summit of Rupert's Hill, on the east side of James's Valley. At the same time, Sir Richard Munden appearing with his ships before the town, it immediately surrendered, without the loss of a man on either side. Among other measures adopted by Sir Richard for securing his conquest, two pieces of ordnance were placed on that part of Rupert's Hill which projects towards the sea, now called Munden's Point. This at once accounts for its

name, without having recourse to the laboured and improbable tradition, that the party who took the island were landed from off the sprit-sail yard of the Assistance, upon Munden's Point, and that the place derives its name from that circumstance. Even admitting it to be possible that a ship of war could approach sufficiently near to effect a disembarkation in so unusual a style; it is clear that a party on Munden's Point rocks, having no communication with the town, except by the sea, or by climbing a precipice nearly perpendicular, could have been of little service in reducing the garrison.

In the mean time, intelligence had reached Holland of the taking of St. Helena from the English; and a ship, called the Europe, was immediately dispatched for the island, with a new Governor on board, who, upon his arrival, found himself, unexpectedly, a prisoner to Sir Richard Munden: and, by the stratagem of displaying the Dutch flag, Sir Richard soon after decoyed six India ships of that nation so close in, that their Vice and Rear Admirals were taken, with a great quantity of silver on board. The remaining four escaped, merely through the impatience of the English, who prematurely commenced the attack.

On Sir Richard Munden's departure from St. Helena, he left the government in charge of Captain Kedgwin, with detachments from the different ships, amounting, in the whole, to one hundred and sixty persons; in which number was included a Captain Gregory Field, from the ship Levant, who was afterwards Governor.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE YEAR 1673 TO THE YEAR 1687.

St. Helena re-granted to the Company by another Charter.—Captain Field appointed Governor.—Several settlers proceed to the island.—Lands assigned them.—Nature of the tenures.—System of defence.—Salaries to the Governor, and other officers and servants.—Privilege to Negroes who embraced Christianity.—Disturbances.—Major Blackmore appointed Governor.—Promulgation of various laws and ordinances.—Slavery.—Duties.—Interlopers.—Distilleries.—Seditious cabals and tumults.—Mutineers attack the fort, and are defeated.—Two of the insurgents executed.—Commission from King James to try the mutineers.—Five more executed.—Their relations petition the House of Commons.—Martial law to be exercised as often as necessary.

AFTER Sir Richard Munden's arrival in England, his Majesty again assigned the possession and government of St. Helena to the East-India Company; and a charter, dated the 16th of

December 1673, was granted, constituting them Lords Proprietors of the island, with the rights and powers of sovereignty*.

Not a moment was lost in fitting out two ships, viz. the European and the John and Alexander, for the conveyance of recruits for the garrison, and a number of passengers, who had accepted the company's terms of becoming settlers, as also to carry out provisions, and all kinds of necessary stores, for the lodgement of which a wooden house was sent in frame. It does not appear to have been the desire of Captain Kedgwin to remain on the island, as a commission was forwarded, appointing Captain G. Field governor, with a council of four members†, including Captain A. Beale, who was nominated Deputy Governor‡. They were enjoined to show every possible mark of respect and kindness to Captain Kedgwin, and to procure him a passage, as soon as he found it convenient to return to England; the Company

* See Appendix, B.

† See Appendix, C.

‡ He was, some years after, poisoned by his black servant.

declaring, that, upon his arrival there, they would take his services into consideration, and reward him as his merits deserved. Nor was the poor negro who had guided Captain Kedgwin's party forgotten; Sir Richard Munden represented the assistance derived from his local knowledge, and zeal for the British cause, in so favourable a light, that the Company not only repaid the expense of Oliver's emancipation, but also made him a free planter, and allowed him land and cattle in the same proportion as was granted to European inhabitants. Those planters who had held lands on the island prior to its capture by the Dutch, were restored to their possessions. To every family that arrived in the two ships above mentioned, as also to some others who soon followed, were assigned twenty acres of land and two cows. Those settlers who preferred a residence on the windward side of the island, were permitted to have double the quantity of land assigned to those who inhabited other parts; and every assistance which the Company could furnish, whether in seeds, plants, breeding stock, labour, or instruction, was freely given to promote the improvements of the industrious. Provisions were issued gratis to the planters for the period of nine months. It was supposed that at the expiration of that

time their farms would afford them a livelihood, and they were thenceforward required to pay for their provisions, &c. at the invoice prices.

In the year 1679 it was ordained, that when a soldier desired to become a free planter, if he married a planter's widow, and became entitled to her deceased husband's land, he should further be allowed ten acres and one cow from the Company; and, in the event of his marrying a farmer's daughter, or a young woman sent out from England, who had no land, he was in such case to have twenty acres and two cows. Every unmarried man, sent out from England as a settler, was to have ten acres of land and one cow; and ten acres more, and another cow, on his marrying a planter's daughter, or an English woman. If a planter's son married an English woman, during his father's life-time, he became entitled to twenty acres and two cows; but if the marriage took place after his father's death, the son being possessed of the whole, or a part, of his father's land, he was then to have only ten acres and one cow. A planter's son, or any Englishman, resident on the island (not being in the Company's pay, nor having been assigned lands), was allowed, on his marrying a planter's widow, ten acres and one cow, if his

wife had children living by her former husband; but if she had no child, a further allotment was not granted. One cow, at least, was required to be maintained on every ten acres of land; and if a farm was not occupied and improved within twelve months after possession, or if, being occupied, it became deserted for six months, in either of these cases, it was liable to be seized by the Company, and granted to a more industrious person. Some who were dispossessed of their lands in this manner, were ordered to be sent off the island, as *drones*. No lands could be sold, or disposed of, by the proprietors, until after they improved and occupied them for a certain period, which at first was fixed at four years, then at seven, and, in 1683, at five years. For every ten acres of land the holder was obliged to maintain an Englishman, on the premises, capable of bearing arms for the defence of the island, who was occasionally to do garrison duty; and for every twenty acres, two men were required to be maintained, one of whom was to take his turn in mounting guard. This service was commuted, in the year 1683, for a pecuniary consideration of two shillings an acre; but the planters were not in consequence exempted from bearing arms, in common with all other persons (except the blacks),

when danger was apprehended, or from appearing as train-bands, at general musters, on penalty of being fined according to the extent of their offence. Upon these several conditions lands were granted in perpetuity to the holders, their heirs, and successors; and a register was kept of all grants and alienations.

The accession of settlers from England formed, in a very short time, a tolerably numerous militia; a kind of force with which the Company intended the island should be garrisoned, in preference to regular troops. Orders were, in consequence, sent out to reduce the number of soldiers to fifty, and to allow the remainder the option either of becoming planters or returning to England.

In the allotment of ground to individuals for building houses in Chapel Valley, attention was paid to the regular formation of a street, the situation of which was directed to be above any fortification that might be constructed for the defence of the landing-place and harbour. Pointed directions were also given for fortifying the island, and placing the principal magazine in a centrical situation. A repetition of these orders, some years after, was accompanied by

an injunction, to consult all Captains of ships (merchantmen, as well as men of war) on the best system of defence to be adopted. These orders and consultations were followed by the construction, under different Governors and engineers, of lines thrown across valleys ; and, in later times, of two or three batteries, at some little elevation above the sea. Though these batteries were sufficiently calculated to act against the approach of shipping, or boats, they could have little effect upon an enemy if he succeeded in carrying the lines above mentioned, which required a strong garrison for their defence. But more than a century was suffered to elapse before the obvious advantages that nature presented in the heights were regarded in any other view, than as the means of affording a look-out. This oversight appears the more extraordinary, as experience, in the capture and re-capture of the island, had shown the inefficacy of a fort commanded on either side, and proved that works at the foot of one part of a hill formed no defence for its summit against the approach of an enemy from another quarter.

The regular garrison was, at first, embodied into two companies, of which one was com-

manded by the Governor, and the other by the Deputy-Governor; but when the standing force was reduced to fifty men, its formation appears to have been one company. The soldiers were quartered on the inhabitants, at the rate of ten shillings a month for each man. The principal persons in office usually filled both civil and military situations. The Deputy-Governor was Captain of a company, and Store-keeper. The third in council, a subaltern officer, and Surveyor-general. The Clerk of the Council, or Secretary, frequently held the rank of Ensign; and, in some instances, voted as a member; and the Store-keeper's Assistant was sometimes a commissioned officer, and sometimes a Serjeant. Such of the Council as were not upon the regular military establishment, held brevet commissions under the Governor's signature, and were assigned military commands in all cases of general alarm. Even so late as the year 1743 we find orders from the Company to continue this practice. The immediate charge and superintendence of the Company's lands and plantations were, for some years, intrusted to the Governor. From the produce of these lands was maintained a public table, at which not only the Governor and Council, and principal servants and officers, but even the head arti-

ficers, and Serjeant of the guard, sat in the order of their respective ranks*. Nor was this strange custom abolished until the year 1718. The emoluments annexed to the different ranks and offices, in Captain Field's government, were as follows:—

* Extract from general letter to England, dated 3d November, 1718:

“ Formerly, the Serjeants, and the Marshal, and Smith,
“ used to dine with the Governor; but, by being com-
“ plained of by many of the Commanders, Governor Poi-
“ rier did alter it, and we have not brought these people in
“ again; and this Governor is of opinion, that nobody
“ ought to sit at table with him that is not cleanly drest,
“ and that has an infectious distemper on him, or that is
“ drunk.”

Extract from the Board Resolution, dated the 8th October,
1717:

“ Likewise, in the Governor's absence, there shall stand
“ a salt upon the table, which shall be placed below the
“ Council and Chaplain. Those who sit above that salt,
“ shall always drink as they think proper, either wine or
“ punch; but those who sit below that salt, shall have, to
“ two persons, one common bowl of punch (which contains
“ about three pints); if but three, the same; if four, two;
“ if five, no more; and if six persons, three bowls of punch;
“ or, in case of wine instead thereof, one bottle for each
“ bowl of punch.”

Captain Field, as Governor and Captain of a company, fifty pounds; gratuity, fifty pounds—One hundred pounds per annum.

Captain Beale, Deputy-Governor, Captain and Store-keeper, fifty pounds*.

Lieutenants, two pounds ten shillings per month.

Ensigns, two pounds ditto.

Serjeants, one pound ditto.

Gunner, besides his diet, two pounds ditto.

Gunner's Mates, besides their diet, one pound ten shillings ditto.

Private soldiers, eighteen shillings ditto.

* Twenty pounds per annum was added to this allowance, in the year 1683, when Captain Holden was appointed Deputy-Governor, Lieutenant of the garrison, second in Council, Store-keeper general, and Customer. Mr. G. Field was, at the same time, appointed Ensign of the garrison, third in Council, and Surveyor-general of the Company's buildings and plantations, at the salary of fifty pounds per annum.

Mr. Swindle, the Minister, fifty pounds; as Schoolmaster, twenty-five pounds; gratuity, twenty-five pounds—One hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. More, the Chirurgeon, twenty-five pounds; gratuity, twenty-five pounds—Fifty pounds per annum.

The Minister and Surgeon, besides their diet at the Governor's table, were each allowed the same proportion of land as other settlers.

The Minister was directed to instruct and catechise the children of Negroes, as well as white persons; and any Negroes resident on the island, who publicly embraced the Christian faith, and received baptism, if the Governor and Council and Minister judged them sufficiently meritorious, were to be entitled, seven years after, to the privilege of free planters. A place of public worship was, in a short time, erected, in Chapel Valley; and, in a few years after, a contribution was raised for building a church in the country. A free market was, likewise, established, for the accommodation of the shipping and inhabitants.

The first regulations for the government and management of the island were scarcely arranged, when discontents were excited by some incendiaries, who persuaded many that the Company, contrary to agreement, intended to transport them to Bombay, and that the soldiers were cheated of their diet, which it was alleged they ought to receive in addition to their pay. The disturbances thus created proceeded to such lengths as to be denominated mutiny in the official dispatches on that subject. Peace and order, however, seem to have been restored without much difficulty; and the pay of the soldiers was afterwards increased to twenty-one shillings per month. But the flame had not been smothered above five years, when a spirit of insubordination, heightened by the excessive use of intoxicating liquors, broke out into violence and riot. This insurrection ended in the banishment of the principal ringleaders, and the dismissal of two members of Council, who shamefully abandoned their trust, by countenancing illegal meetings.

Captain Field having applied for permission to resign, and return to England, Major John Blackmore was appointed his successor, and

arrived at the island on the 19th of July 1678. Captain Field was directed to have a seat in Council until the time of his embarkation. At the commencement of Major Blackmore's government, a number of additional orders and instructions were transmitted by the Company, for the conduct of their affairs, and the administration of justice. Nor was due attention to the inculcation of virtue and morality neglected. The Minister was urgently enjoined to a strict and conscientious discharge of his duties; and the Council exhorted to encourage religion by their example, as well as authority. A court of judicature was erected, of which the Governor was the sole judge; its sittings were ordered to be held four times a year. A system of laws, drawn, for the most part, from those established at Bombay, was at first framed for the island; but as they were calculated for a settlement infinitely more populous than St. Helena, which then did not contain above five hundred inhabitants, it was shortly afterwards judged expedient to proceed by jury, only in cases affecting life, limb, or land; leaving matters of less import to be settled before the Governor and Council, who were recommended not to have their "heads troubled with nice poynts of the " common law of England; but rather, on con-

“sidering the reason of things, to adjudge of all cases in a summary way, according to equity and a good conscience, without tedious delays, or countenancing litigious persons in their vexatious prosecutions*.” Subjects discussed at this Board were decided by a majority of voices; but if the members were equally divided, lots determined the question. This rule was followed until the year 1747, when it was ordered that the Governor should have a casting vote, in cases where they were unanimous: the dissenting members were directed to enter their sentiments at large on the proceedings, for the information of the Court of Directors. It was in the power of the Governor to suspend any one of the Council, for negligence or misconduct; but this authority, in the year 1721, was transferred to the majority of the Council; by whom alone suspensions could be awarded. The vacancy could not be filled without express orders from the Company; nor could any person have a vote at the Board, unless the appointment issued from the same authority. Governor Blackmore was reproved for assuming this power

* For further particulars in respect to the laws in force upon the island, previous to the introduction of regular military courts, and courts of Oyer and Terminer, &c. the reader is referred to the Appendix, D.

in favour of two free planters. All Commanders of the Company's ships were, at first, directed to sit in Council, during their stay at the island, and to have precedence next the Governor. It was afterwards decreed, that they should have only a deliberative voice, but no vote; and finally it was determined, that none should either sit or vote at the Board, without a special appointment. Regular meetings were held by the Council, as the guardians of orphans and their estates; but, as intermarriages took place among the settlers, and the degrees of kindred upon the island were, consequently, in the course of forty or fifty years, considerably extended, there was seldom any want of relations upon the spot, to take charge of the children and effects of deceased persons; and the Orphan's Court, as it became unnecessary, gradually fell into disuse.

A peculiarity in the laws respecting inheritance, entitled a widow to half her deceased husband's freehold estate during her natural life; the other half, together with the reversion of the wife's share, was, after her death, disposed of according to the husband's last will and testament. One-third of an intestate's personal property went to his widow; the other two-thirds

were divided, in equal proportions, among the children resident on the island. But if there were no such relatives, then the whole descended to the widow; and, in case there was neither wife nor child, the whole went to the next of kindred inhabiting the island. If by will, or otherwise, lands devolved to any person in England, who did not, within two years, either repair to the island himself, or cause the lands to be inhabited by two persons, and maintain on them at least two cows, the estate, in such case, reverted to the Company. But this, and many other laws, established at the same early period, have long become obsolete, or have been superseded by the introduction of the British code.

In the course of a very few years, about two thousand two hundred acres of land became vested in the hands of individuals, either by free grants, or by leases for sixty years, at the rate of two shillings an acre; and the stock of black cattle rapidly increased. Until the year 1721, beef was supplied to the ships from the Company's stock of cattle, in preference to that of the Planters, who bartered their oxen to them in exchange for necessaries from the public stores; a measure that was justly considered as

an accommodation to both parties. Such was the scarcity of specie, that copper bars passed as current coin, and dollars were valued at six shillings. As the colony was in a very flourishing condition, it became no longer necessary for the Company to supply provisions for the inhabitants at invoice prices. It was in consequence determined, that nineteen per cent. should be charged on all stores imported from England*, besides interest on the money which

* By the manner in which this determination was expressed, it would appear that its operation must have been very inconvenient to the inhabitants. The following is the extract from the letter upon that subject:—

“ And, that our free planters and leasees may always
“ have a meanes of supplying themselves with English
“ servants, and all commodities of England and Europe, as
“ cheap, or cheaper, than the planters off Barbadoes and
“ Jamacoe can have them; now they are, God be praised,
“ in a condition to have purchase them, wee shall send
“ you yearly one or two ships, or more, as our island shall
“ encrease; the planters agreeing amonge themselves to
“ send us over yearly one or two honest persons, of their
“ number, that shall engage, within the compase of the
“ yeare after such ships arrivall att the island of St. He-
“ lena, to pay the Company their just disbursements of
“ whatsoever they shall write, as Thos. Smoult now hath
“ done, together with nineteen per cent. advance upon the
“ just cost, freight, and charge here.”

Letter dated the 1st of August 1683.

should be laid out in the purchase; and twenty per cent. on Indian commodities.

All descriptions of persons were obliged to afford one day's labour in the year, or an equivalent in money, for the repair of the highways; two surveyors of which, and two churchwardens (one for each church), were chosen by the Governor, out of four persons, elected every Easter-Monday, by a majority of the free planters. No lessee, shopkeeper, or artificer, had a voice in the election of any island or parish officer. That privilege was confined to the free planters and their heirs, whom the Company, in the following words, declared that "they would always esteem and honour as the first occupants, and gentlemen freeholders of the island, for such it was hoped their heirs would prove to be, and to have estates sufficient to maintain the dignity of that title, and defend their country on horseback."

The introduction of slavery appears to have been coeval with the first settlement of the island, or very soon after. In the year 1679, restrictions were laid upon the further importation of slaves, from an apprehension of danger, should their number, which was then about

eighty, exceed, in any considerable degree, that of the Europeans. But, in four years after, permission to renew this traffic was granted, on condition that for every Negro the purchaser should either maintain a white militia-man, or pay at the rate of ten shillings a head to the Company for each slave; and, in addition to other duties, every Madagascar ship that touched for refreshment, was obliged to leave one Negro, a man or a woman, at the Governor's election, for the service of the Company's plantations. The law which declared that no person should be deprived of life or limb without a trial by jury, did not comprise an exception or specification in respect to inhabitants of any description whatever; but, as the benefit of this law did not extend to blacks, it would appear that the benign sentiments at first expressed in favour of this class of people were forgotten, and that they were not considered as human creatures. It may, indeed, be inferred, that, for a long period, some such opinion actually did prevail; as it might, on any other supposition, seem extraordinary that a black striking, even in the act of self-defence, any white person, should be consigned to a most horrid and detestable mutilation*.

* See Appendix, E.

From the constant dread of insurrections among the blacks, it seems probable that these severities had little effect in maintaining that subordination and regularity of conduct, which the experience of later years has proved to be more easily attained by a milder system.

Besides the Negro which every English vessel trading to Madagascar was obliged to leave on the island, each ship paid a duty of two shillings and six pence for every ton of her admeasurement; and, in common with all others, the sum of five shillings anchorage! From this charge, however, the Dutch were exempted, as long as a similar exemption was allowed to the English East-Indiamen at the Cape of Good Hope. Ships in the Company's service were further obliged to deliver, on their arrival, a barrel of gunpowder; a practice which has continued to the present time. But heavier duties were levied on interlopers; a term applied to all British subjects who traded to India in defiance of the Company's charter. According to orders, sent out in the year 1683, the ships of interlopers were not to be supplied with water or refreshment, until they paid, in money or goods, to the value of twenty shillings per ton. Two years prior to this enactment, the law, with respect

to interlopers, was still more severe. No refreshment was allowed them, unless they agreed to resign ship and cargo to the Company's disposal. In this case, the private property of the commander and officers was to be secured to them, and an offer made, either to entertain them and the crew in the Company's service, or procure them a passage to England. Until such a surrender was made, all traffic and communication between them and the inhabitants were prohibited, under the penalty of twenty pounds, from a member of Council, and ten from any other person in the island, who should disregard these orders. The principle on which these regulations were founded, was afterwards applied to British subjects who traded to India under the protection of foreign flags. Many ships, under Ostend colours, were refused any kind of refreshment, scarcely allowed water sufficient to preserve the lives of their crews, and were even fired upon, to prevent their entry into the Roads, or to hasten their departure! The subject was, at last, brought before Parliament, and, by an Act of George the First, this kind of clandestine and illicit commerce was checked, and the Company established in their chartered rights. Some of the interlopers became such active abettors of mutiny and sedition, that a

commission was sent out by King James the Second for seizing all ships belonging to persons of that description. In returning the salutes of foreign ships, it was directed, that no more than seven guns should, at any time, be fired, and only three to ships in the Company's service; but interlopers were not, on any account whatever, to be saluted*.

In addition to the taxes already mentioned, a toll of two pence was levied on each ox, or neat beast, that was sold; and for every ox, or other beast, sold, and sent on board ship†, six pence.

* Extract from orders and instructions, dated 1st of August 1683:

“ Wee finde, by the list of guns fired, sent us by Capt. “ Beale, three hundred and odd guns, which is so strange a “ waste, that we could not think our Governor would have “ bin guilty of; especially considering that island cost us “ forty thousand pounds, without one penny proffit, hither- “ too, more than refreshment to our ships, which all strang- “ ers have had as well as ourselves. But most impudent it “ was to salute interlopers; and as vile for our Minister, “ Mr. Church (if our information be true), to be first on “ board the interloper Pitts, that came in last voyage, and “ to entertain him at his house.”

† “ If any ox, or other beast, sold, and not duly entered “ in the Company's toll-book, the bargain is to be null and

For every hundred weight of sugar landed,
six pence.

For every hogshead of arrack, ten shillings.

For every hogshead of wine, ten shillings.

For every piece of calico, six pence.

For every piece of silk, one shilling.

For every beast pastured on the Company's
waste land*, one shilling.

" voyd ; and so are all bargains for house or land, if not
" registered as aforesaid ; and, in case of such omition, the
" seller and the buyer of any house or land unregistered
" shall pay the Company double fees for registering an
" alienation of any such house or land, so clandestinely
" sold or alienated."

Extract from the Company's early orders.

* " And we do hereby strictly forbid all persons upon
" the island from suffering any cattle to stray, as our laws
" saith, to be levant and couchant upon the Company's
" waste land ; except such only as shall be first marked
" with the Company's pitch-brand, which we send you
" herewith ; the cattle suffered to feed with the Company's
" being to be marked May-day, every year, or some other
" certain days, as the Governor shall direct ; and the

And a poll-tax of six pence a head upon every person above the age of sixteen, for the purpose of paying the Minister, and repairing the church.

A constant succession of showers is more necessary for the process of vegetation in a hilly country, like St. Helena, than on flat grounds ; and, from the idea which prevails that trees on the summits of mountains have an attractive influence on the clouds, as well as from considerations of the value of timber, the preservation of wood was deemed an object of great importance. To effect this end, regulations were, at various

“ owners of every beast are to pay the Company twelve
“ pence per head, for being suffered to graze one year upon
“ the Company’s waste land.

“ And tho’ we shall esteem (as all Lords of Mannors do),
“ till fine and ransom be made at the Lord’s pleasure, all
“ cattle found upon the Company’s waste to be the Com-
“ pany’s own proper goods and chattels, that have not the
“ Company’s wast-mark, or pitch-brand, upon them ; yet
“ we think it very requisite that all the Company’s cattle
“ should be marked on each horne with a burnt mark, to
“ the end that if any of them (by ill men) should be killed,
“ or dye, the skyn may be known to be the Company’s
“ when they are sold.”

Extract from the Company’s early orders.

times, framed. A great quantity was, however, consumed, by distilling spirits from potatoes; a manufacture in which many stills upon the island were employed, which was a source of considerable internal traffic, and doubtless occasioned many abuses and disorders. If a total suppression of such licence was not necessary, some control, at least, must surely have been proper. Accordingly an impost was levied of twelve pence for every hundred weight of wood appropriated to distillation, besides four pence for every gallon of liquor.

A spirit of opposition was again manifested in the colony, proceeding partly from the exaction of taxes which the inhabitants deemed oppressive; but chiefly from a want of energy in the Government. Secret murmurings soon increased to illegal and seditious meetings; and, as no decisive or vigorous measures seem to have been enforced by the Government for checking these disorders, every unpopular regulation, as might be expected, added fuel to the flame, and encouraged the malcontents to continue their tumultuous proceedings*. Affairs,

* Thomas Eastings, a distinguished actor in these scenes, was proved to have broken into a house, for the purpose of

at length, wore so threatening an aspect, that the Company determined to transmit orders for all Commanders of their returning ships to remain at the island during any period (not exceeding one month) that the Governor should think necessary, in order that their ships' companies might assist in maintaining subordination. Before these injunctions were forwarded, however, tranquillity had been once more restored; but the calm was of short duration. These troubles were rather fomented than repressed, by

procuring arms: for this, and other offences, he was afterwards sent off in a ship bound for England. Whatever severity might, in the opinion of Governor Blackmore, have been attached to this punishment, the Company blamed the mildness of the sentence in the following words:—“ Your “ banishment of Thomas Eastings is likewise such a silly “ piece of pageantry, instead of a banishment, that we are “ ashamed our aged Governor should be guilty of so great “ a folly. We know runagadoes, young fellows, love to be “ rambling, and believe, if the fellow had committed no “ fault deserving death or imprisonment, he would have “ thanked the Governor for giving him such an opportunity “ to satisfy his humour of changing place. The wise Dutch “ never banish white men out of India; for, to send home “ such to any part of Europe, is rather a reward than a “ punishment. And therefore we forbid you, now and “ for ever hereafter, to mock the justice of your island “ with such sham banishment as sending delinquents home “ to their own country.”

the turbulent disposition of Doctor Sault, the Chaplain. He scurrilously insulted the Council, contemned their authority, and, by his disrespectful and insolent demeanour, to which Government too tamely submitted, fostered a discontent productive of the most serious and alarming mutiny that had hitherto disturbed the settlement. It may here be observed, that, notwithstanding the Company had spared neither expense, ordinances, nor exhortations, to promote virtue and religion, their intentions were, in a great measure, frustrated, by the behaviour of a succession of clergymen, whose principles and conduct counteracted the intention of their sacred profession. One of these gentlemen was censured, in the Company's official correspondence, as an "encroaching, avaricious person;" and was threatened to be dismissed, and sent to England, for refusing to marry a couple after the Governor had signed the licence*. Another,

* " And if it be true, as we have been informed, that
" he did refuse to marry Mr. Smoult's daughter upon the
" lisence of the Governor, it is a great signe of his weak-
" ness, as of his pride. For, if he understands our consti-
" tution, he must knowe that noe lawes are of force in that
" island till they are lawes made by us. And therefore, if
" any Minister shall refuse to marry any couple upon our
" Governor's lisence, we would have our Governor and

having a pique against his neighbour, swore he would have his blood. For this, and his drunkenness, he was bound over to his good behaviour. A third was fined for performing the marriage ceremony without the Governor's licence, and against the consent of a parent. A fourth proved an incendiary and a drunkard, and persevered in the most aggravating and daring insolence to the Governor, until the reprehension of the Company, and repeated fines, reduced him to better order. A fifth, a man of very low origin, made the pulpit a channel for declamation against Government, whose orders for the regular performance of his duty he disobeyed; and, by his contumacy, disturbed the peace of the community, and set the whole island in a ferment. Four persons were convicted by a jury, and punished by fine or pillory, for circulating papers for general signature, in support of the Chaplain, and reflecting on the conduct of the Governor. A sixth, was obliged to relinquish his appointment from habitual drunkenness. A seventh, was represented as a sot and a liar. An eighth, was notorious for his irregularity of

“ Council immediately to dismiss him from our service,
“ and send him home.”

Extract from orders, dated 1st of Aug. 1683, par^h 74.

conduct. In short, for a period of sixty years, the inhabitants could with difficulty separate insubordination or profligacy from the character of their ministers. Without attempting to comment on an extraordinary expression of an elegant author, that, “to a philosophic eye, *the vices of the Clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues* *,” it may, nevertheless, be remarked, that even political inconvenience may sometimes result from their vices, however preferable, in the eye of modern philosophy, to their virtues.

In the year 1684, Captain Holden filled the appointments of Deputy-Governor, and Store-keeper; and, whilst officiating in the latter capacity, at the stores, was interrupted and impeded, in a most extraordinary manner, by Allen Dennison, a soldier, whose conduct, on former occasions, had been marked by turbulence and audacity. Captain Holden, instead of confining him for disrespectful behaviour to his officèr, continued to bear with his insolence, and even condescended to reason with him. Upon Dennison’s reviling the Company in scurrilous terms, Captain Holden reminded him, that he, and all

* Gibbon’s Roman Empire, vol. ix. p. 199.

others on the island, were amenable to the Company and their laws, as well as to the King. Nothing material happened until about five weeks after, when, at a general muster, Dennison, by a wilful misconstruction of Captain Holden's words above mentioned, accused him publicly of treason, in saying, "we are not His 'Majesty's subjects, but the Company's." Holden appeared before the Governor and Council, to answer the charge; but a very short investigation sufficed to reverse the situation of the accuser and the accused, and Dennison was committed to custody. This hastened matters to a crisis. After a few consultations among the malcontents, about sixty of them, soldiers and planters, armed with staves, musquets, and swords, assembled in a tumultuous manner; and, to give some colour to their outrageous intentions, endeavoured to make it appear that the Government was setting up an authority independent of the Crown. Until the year 1687, the only flag displayed at the fort, or at any other quarter of the island, was the Company's. Of this circumstance the mutineers availed themselves, and with a flag, made in imitation of the King's, marched downwards, saying they were for the King, and such other exclamations; but, whatever sincerity might have been in such pro-

fessions, the loyalty of some of these reformers appears to have been blended with other views. For, in the event of success, it had been arranged that John Sich should be appointed Governor, John Coleson Deputy-Governor, and Thomas Bolton keeper of the stores. Their associates were chiefly persons who had taken part in former disturbances. One of them is particularized in the records, as a “fifth monachy-man, engaged in Venner’s rebellion;” another, as a person who had formerly been accused of felony; and among the number was included William Cox, mentioned in the preceding chapter as having betrayed the island to the Dutch, in the year 1672. When they approached the fort, the Governor endeavoured to bring them to reason, and commanded the soldiers to return to their allegiance, and obey his orders; but in vain. They demanded Dennison’s release; and told the Governor, if he did not deliver up “*that traitor, Holden,*” they would have him also; and immediately proceeded to attack the fort. In attempting to force the gate they were fired upon by the guard, and three of their number were killed, and fourteen wounded. Upon this they retreated, and the remainder of the day passed without any further disturbance. The Governor

receiving information that some of the principal mutineers had retired to the house of William Bowyer*, one of their leaders, a serjeant's party was sent, the same night, to secure them; but, on arriving at the house, the mutineers called to arms; upon which the party fired in at the windows, killed one man, wounded another, and seized six more, among whom was Bowyer himself. About two months after these events, the arrival of the ship Royal James afforded the means of impanneling an impartial jury, which was composed of the Captain and officers of that ship, together with some non-commissioned officers belonging to the garrison. William Bowyer, Joseph Clarke, Joseph Ousman, and Robert More, were indicted, on the 23d of December, 1684, for sedition and mutiny. The three former refused to plead, objecting to be tried before any other tribunal than the King's Bench, in England. They were all four found guilty; and, when asked if they had any thing to offer in arrest of judgement, the two former again objected to the legality of the Court; and Bowyer observed, that he had read the Company's charter, but could perceive no

* This house was situated in that part of the island called Broad Bottom.

clause in it that authorized his being deprived of life. Ousman and More begged the mercy of the Court, and their sentences were changed into banishment; but Bowyer and Clarke, after a respite of some days, were hanged. Others of the insurgents having been secured, within a week or two, were likewise brought to trial, when Joseph Clarke, sen. James Johnson, Thomas Browne, and Samuel Callis, were found guilty, and sentence of death passed on the two former. Execution, however, did not follow: and they were all four, with More, Dennison, and Ousman, sent to Barbadoes. The Government also seized the arms of all others who had been of the number that assailed the fort; and the Commander of every ship that arrived, was cautioned against permitting any improper communication between the ship's company and the island; for, though the mutineers had been defeated in their open insurrection, their dispositions yet remained unsubdued, and secret cabals were still continued.

In a new charter from King Charles the Second, dated the 9th of August, 1683, a clause* was inserted, empowering the Company to exer-

* See Appendix, F.

cise martial law in their different settlements. But, as from the dispatches by the ship Royal James the condition of St. Helena appeared in so critical a state, that it was doubtful whether the island might be in the possession of the Government, or of the mutineers, special and extraordinary powers were deemed necessary to stop the progress of further mischief. About this time, Sir John Weybourn, Knt. was preparing to take his passage, in the ship London, as Deputy-Governor of Bombay, in command of a company of foot. The London was destined to stop at St. Helena; and King James the Second ordered a proclamation to be published there, in case it should be found that the mutineers were masters of the island, and that the force sent out was not adequate to their reduction, containing a free pardon to all who should return to their allegiance within twenty-four hours after the offer of the proposed terms. His Majesty likewise directed a commission to the Governor and Council, in conjunction with Sir John Weybourn, Captain Eaton, of the London, and the subaltern officers of Sir John's company, to make war upon the mutineers, if they were in arms, and reduce them by force; and, after trying the aggressors by a court-martial, if they were duly convicted, to inflict sentence of death

on twelve of the offenders, whose names were excepted out of the pardon above mentioned ; including William Cox, in consequence of having “formerly betrayed the island to the Dutch.” Upon the arrival of the London, the commission was put in effect, and fourteen of the mutineers condemned, five of whom were executed ; the remaining nine were reprieved until further instructions should be obtained respecting them, and, in the mean while, were liberated from close custody.

Soon after these occurrences, a Captain Hord, who was said to have been sent from Bombay for mutiny, arrived at St. Helena. Finding the state of affairs on the island suited to his propensities, he succeeded, by inflammatory conversation, so far to gain the confidence of the disaffected, that he at last ventured to suggest a project, which he persuaded them would very much advance their interest, and do away all their grievances. His proposal was, to procure the dismission of Mr. Blackmore, and the appointment of himself as Governor. A petition to this effect, addressed to His Majesty, was accordingly prepared for general signature ; but, intimation of the design having reached Government, and it appearing that two of the con-

denmed persons, viz. G. Shelton and Gabriel Powel, had been active abettors in the conspiracy, they were immedately committed to prison. The former died in confinement; the latter, soon after, effected his escape in the ship Rochester; and Hord, and his principal accomplices, were banished the island.

The relations of the executed persons were by no means satisfied that the proceedings of the King, the Company, or the Governor and Council, were either just or necessary; and some of them forwarded a petition to the House of Commons, representing the events that had taken place in such a light as they conceived would best obtain their object. If the copy of the petition preserved on the island be correct, the overt act of rebellion in attacking the fort was glossed over, and denominated an application for redress of their grievances, which they stated to consist in exorbitant taxation, and the imposition of copper-bars upon the inhabitants, by the Company, as coin, which they alleged were refused to be received in return. No evidence appears to have been offered in support of such an improbable assertion; nor could they urge that any petition or memorial had preceded the violence of the insurgents. The address closed

with a request that those concerned in procuring the commission for a court martial might be brought to condign punishment; that the Governor and Captain Holden might be called home, to answer for their conduct; that restitution might be made of all property forfeited, whether real or personal; that proper care might be taken of the seven men under condemnation; and that the taxes of which they complained might be remitted *. According to Anderson's History of Commerce, the House of Commons passed a resolution, declaring the Company to have acted in an arbitrary and illegal manner, which raised a considerable degree of popular clamour against them; but nothing further seems to have resulted from the application. No taxes were taken off, except half the land-tax; and the Governor and Council were directed to remind the inhabitants that they were liable to be governed by martial law whenever it might be deemed necessary †; but the

* See Appendix, G.

† Extracts from orders and instructions, dated the 3d of August, 1687 :

“ Make it your business to undeceive those ignorant inhabitants by convincing them, as the truth is, that we

laws in the civil code which adjudged the punishment of death, were expunged by the Company in all cases, except that of wilful murder. The property, both real and personal, of those convicted, was forfeited to the Company; yet, with the exception of the free lands, it was restored to the widows and orphans; and the seven men under condemnation, whose lives were spared at the intercession of the Company, received an

“ are intrusted by his Majesty with the exercise of soverain power in that island, as well legislative as executive, and that we will govern them, as well as our souldiers, by martial law, as often as we, or you, find it necessary, and as the Dutch do in their colonys in India.

“ And that you do make an extract of all our said orders, and enter them in a book, to be always laying on your Councill table, or at hand, and to be read by any of our Councill, and made publick to all inhabitants of that island (during his Majesties pleasure) as good laws, as Magna Charta is to England; and he that thinks it to be otherwise, doth but discover his own ignorance; all foreign planters being indisputably subject to his Majestie's dispotical power, which whoever doubts may easily be satisfied by looking into our statute book, where he will soon observe that our English acts of Parliament extend no further than to the kingdom of England, do minion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed; neither is the municipall, or common law, of England of any further extent.”

equivalent for the freehold estates, upon their agreeing to remove, with their families (at their own expense), to Bombay. The lands which thus reverted to the Company were ordered to be leased out for the term of twenty-one years, but were prohibited from being granted in perpetuity, as it was judged that too many free-holders were already on the island. No inhabitant was permitted to keep arms in his house without the Governor's licence ; and the Company resolved to change the system, and rely for the defence of the island more upon a regular garrison than upon a militia. The construction of barracks was ordered, that the soldiers might be separated from the planters as much as possible. The King's flag was directed to be hoisted, and a proper respect to it enforced.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE YEAR 1687 TO THE YEAR 1708.

Various plans for improving the island suggested.—All fail.—Price of provisions, in the year 1707.—Jealousies with which the Company's prerogatives were guarded.—Shoals and banks in the neighbourhood of the island.—Design of forming a settlement at Tristan d'Acunha.—Design abandoned.—Death of Governor Blackmore.—Captain Johnson succeeds as Governor.—Is assassinated by part of his garrison, who plunder the treasury, and make their escape.—Captain Kelinge's government.—An insurrection of the Blacks.—Governor Kelinge's death, and succession of Governor Poirier.—Distilleries suppressed.—Two Company's ships cut out of the Roads.—Death of Governor Poirier, and succession of Mr. Goodwin.—Arrival of Governor Roberts.

WHEN the persecution of the reformed religion, in France, under Lewis the Fourteenth, forced many valuable subjects of that country to seek refuge in distant climes, the little island

of St. Helena, notwithstanding the late disturbances there, was deemed a desirable asylum by Captain Poirier, who, with a large family, arrived on the 6th of January, 1689. This gentleman was recommended to the attention of the Governor and Council as a good and worthy character, and was appointed to succeed to a seat in Council. Captain Poirier, being accompanied by several French Protestants, who understood the management of vineyards, lands in the neighbourhood of the district called Horsepasture were appropriated for the cultivation of the vine, in the view of making wine and brandy. The experiment, however, at that time, does not seem to have succeeded.

The state and condition of St. Helena, and the manners of its inhabitants, about this period, are described by Captain Dampier, who visited the island in 1691, in the following words:—

“ The common landing-place is a small bay,
“ like a half-moon, scarce five hundred paces
“ wide between the two points. Close by the
“ sea side are good guns, planted at equal
“ distance, lying along from one end of the bay
“ to the other, besides a small fort a little fur-
“ ther in from the sea, near the midst of the

“ bay. All which makes the bay so strong,
“ that it is impossible to force it. The small
“ cove, where Captain Munden landed his men
“ when he took the island from the Dutch, is
“ scarce fit for a boat to land, and yet that is
“ now fortified.

“ There is a small English town within the
“ great bay, standing in a little valley between
“ two high steep mountains. There may be
“ about twenty or thirty small houses, whose
“ walls are built with rough stones; the inside
“ furniture very mean. The Governor has a
“ pretty tolerable handsome low house by the
“ fort. But the houses in the town before
“ mentioned stand empty, save only when ships
“ arrive here; for their owners have all planta-
“ tions farther in the island, where they con-
“ stantly employ themselves. But when ships
“ arrive, they all flock to the town, where they
“ live all the time that the ships be here; for
“ then is their fair, or market, to buy such ne-
“ cessaries as they want, and to sell off the
“ produce of their plantations.

“ Their plantations afford potatoes, yams,
“ and some plantains and bananoes. Their
“ stock consists chiefly of hogs, bullocks, cocks

“ and hens, ducks, geese, and turkeys, of
“ which they have great plenty, and sell them
“ at a low rate to the sailors, taking in exchange
“ shirts, drawers, or any light clothes, pieces of
“ calico, silk, or muslin; arrack, sugar, and
“ lime-juice, is also much esteemed, and coveted
“ by them. But now they are in hopes to pro-
“ duce wine and brandy in a short time, for they
“ do already begin to plant vines for that end,
“ there being a few Frenchmen that are to
“ manage that affair. This I was told, but I
“ saw nothing of it, for it rained so hard when
“ I was ashore, that I had not the opportunity
“ of seeing their plantations.

“ Had we all come directly hither, and not
“ touched at the Cape, even the poorest people
“ among them would have gotten something by
“ entertaining sick men. For commonly the
“ seamen coming home are troubled, more or
“ less, with scorbutick distempers, and their
“ only hopes are to get refreshment and health
“ at this island, and these hopes seldom or
“ never fail them, if once they get footing here.
“ For the island affords abundance of delicate
“ herbs, wherewith the sick are first bathed, to
“ supple their joints, and then the fruits, and
“ herbs, and fresh food, soon after cure them of

“ their scorbustick humour. So that in a week’s
“ time, men that have been carried ashore in
“ hammocks, and they who were wholly unable
“ to go, have soon been able to leap and dance.
“ Doubtless the serenity and wholesomeness of
“ the air contributes much to the carrying off
“ these distempers; for here is constantly a
“ fresh breeze. While we stayed here, many
“ of the seamen got sweethearts. One young
“ man, belonging to the James and Mary, was
“ married, and brought his wife to England
“ with him; another brought his sweetheart to
“ England, they being both engaged by bonds
“ to marry at their arrival in England; and
“ several other of our men were over head and
“ ears in love with the Santa Helena maids;
“ who, though they were born there, yet very
“ earnestly desired to be released from that
“ prison, which they have no other way to
“ compass but by marrying seamen or passen-
“ gers that touch here. The young women
“ born here are but one remove from English,
“ being the daughters of such. They are well-
“ shaped, proper, and comely, were they in
“ address to set them off.”

The abundance of fresh provisions and vegetables which the island produced was much

more than adequate to supply the demands of the few ships employed, at that period, in the India trade. Several tracts of valuable land remained, at the same time, waste and unoccupied. A knowledge of this circumstance led the Company to entertain hopes of deriving further advantages from St. Helena, than solely as a port of refreshment and rendezvous. A design was formed to establish plantations of sugar-canies, cotton, indigo, and tobacco; and encouragement was held out to the inhabitants for the cultivation of the three last mentioned productions; but the first was intended to be reserved exclusively in the Company's hands. It was recommended, as a preparatory measure, to fence in the great wood at the eastern side of the island, now called Long Wood; and the Company's governments in India were instructed to send the necessary plants and seeds for promoting the undertaking. Mr. Cox, who had formerly resided in the West Indies, was sent out to superintend the sugar-works and plantations at St. Helena. The saltpetre, with which the earth was supposed to abound in many situations, induced the experiment also of collecting it, if possible, in sufficient quantities to render it an article of exportation. Similar hopes were formed in respect to sea salt, produced by the

effect of the sun, in the hollows of rocks by the sea side. Ample instructions were forwarded for the formation of salt pans, and Rupert's Valley was considered as the place best calculated for the experiment. At the distance of about half a mile, or a little more, from the sea, this valley branches off into several others of less breadth, but increasing in width as they rise towards the interior of the country. One of them terminates in a form somewhat resembling a bowl, above a mile across, which, probably, might once have been the crater of a volcano. In heavy rains, the streams of water from the different gullies and ravines collect in united force, and, accompanied with mud and stones, rush in a torrent, which suddenly accumulates by supplies from the hills on either side, until its impetuosity so increases, that, unless large sums of money were laid out to protect the salt pans, they must have been overwhelmed and destroyed by the inundation. As the same objection would apply, though perhaps in a less degree, to almost every other valley on the island, the prosecution of the idea was soon laid aside.

From the numerous brackish springs to be met with, in many places, at so great an eleva-

tion as to set aside all conjecture of their connexion with the sea, the probability may be inferred that a search might produce the discovery of rock-salt; but this question must be left to the consideration of those skilled in natural history, or to the more certain test of experiment.

The attempt to collect saltpetre, as well as sea salt, was also abandoned as impracticable. The Company had also expended considerable sums in the purchase of sugar-mills, and other apparatus, but their expense and trouble proved abortive, through negligence, mismanagement, or ignorance; and Mr. Cox was dismissed from their service, in which he had enjoyed the rank and salary of a member of Council. The defective state of the records prevents us from ascertaining why the plantations of cotton and indigo failed; but the spontaneous growth of tobacco, for many years, and even in the present time, evinces the soil and climate to be congenial to that plant. About the same time, a number of other plants, shrubs, and timber and fruit trees, were introduced. Among these were the cocoa-nut, cypress, and chesnut; pears, plums, apples, cherries, peaches, apricots, mulberries, gooseberries, currants, barberries,

quinces, raspberries, medlars, nectarines, filberts, and walnuts. Of these fruits only the apple, peach, mulberry, and quince, have come to perfection. The thriving state of the few cypress trees and cocoa-nuts that still remain, as well as of those that have been recently planted, renders it a matter of surprise, that, considering the anxiety of the Company to effect their propagation, they were not more generally cultivated.

A further supply of yams was imported from Madagascar, for the sustenance of the additional number of Negroes that were procured to forward the plantations, and other works in contemplation; but, in consequence of the disappointments already mentioned, this extraordinary accession of labour was necessarily appropriated to the purposes for which the island was principally maintained. Fresh provision became so abundant, that, to ensure a regular and constant demand, a clause was inserted in the charter-parties of ships in the Company's service, obliging their owners to purchase a certain quantity of beef, the price of which, in the year 1683, was sixteen shillings per cwt. alive. But, as the demands upon the island increased with the prosperity and trade of the Company, so the

value of provisions became enhanced in the same ratio; and the price of beef, in the year 1707, was twenty-five shillings per cwt. The market rates of other articles, in the same year, will appear by the following list:

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Veal, per lb.	- - - -	0	0	6
Pork, ditto	- - - -	0	0	4
Bacon, ditto	- - - -	0	0	10
Running hogs, ditto	- - -	0	0	2
A sheep	- - - -	1	0	0
A goat	- - - -	0	8	0
A fowl	- - - -	0	1	0
A turkey	- - - -	0	5	0
A goose	- - - -	0	5	0
Potatoes, per bushel	- - -	0	4	0
Yams, per cwt.	- - -	0	6	0
Milk, per gallon	- - -	0	0	6
Butter, per lb.	- - -	0	0	10
New milk cheese	- - -	0	0	4

Another article of sustenance, or rather of luxury, was derived from the numerous eggs laid by the sea-birds on the detached rocks round the coast. The property in the eggs was considered as one of the Company's royalties; and certain days in the week were specified on

which the inhabitants were permitted to collect them. This indulgence having been abused, notice was given, by proclamation, that any person taking eggs, except upon the appointed days, should forfeit their privilege for the remainder of the season*; and with so much jealousy were such prerogatives guarded, that in Captain Johnson's government, a man who had taken a sea-cow, and had appropriated to himself all the oil obtained from it, was fined five pounds for

* Extract from consultation of the 8th of October, 1707:

“ Whereas there was usually granted by the Governor, “ from time to time, as he thought fit, liberty to gather “ eggs upon the Right Honourable Company lords pro- “ prietors' egg islands, which, for some years past, have “ been appointed, by the late Governor, to be Tuesdays, “ Thursdays, and Saturdays, which days are still allowed “ by the present Governor. But finding that there has “ been (notwithstanding they have thereby granted them “ as much as the said Lords Proprietors) eggs gathered “ upon those days when they should not.

“ It is therefore hereby declared, that if any person or “ persons shall presume any more to gather eggs upon any “ other but their granted days, that then such boat, and “ people therein offending, shall lose their said privilege “ the whole season.”

not having presented a share of it to the Company*.

The abundance and variety of fish caught with facility all round the coast, suggested an

* Proclamation, dated the 28th of August, 1682 :

“ It is ordered,

“ That, from the first of September next, whatsoever
“ free planter, or other inhabitants, shall find any of the
“ sayd fish, called sea-cows, or others of the like nature
“ and quality, on the shore of any part of the sayd island,
“ he may boyle the same, and convert it into oyle, and
“ take it to his owne proper vse and behoofe; provided
“ always that hee forthwith send, or cause to be sent, the
“ eighth part, or gallon, of all the sayd oyle so made, vnto
“ Fort James, and deliver it to the Governor, or such as he
“ shall appoint, as an acknowledgment of the said Honour-
“ able Company’s royalty and property, and for their use
“ and service.

“ Further it is ordered,

“ That, from the same time, if any officer or souldier in
“ the sayd Honourable Company’s pay shall find any such
“ fish above mentioned, he may convert it into oyle, and
“ send one third part, or share, thereof vnto Fort James, as
“ aforesayd; the other two thirds he may dispose of as he
“ pleaseth, provided, and it must always be remembered,
“ that all persons concerned in this matter be just and
“ right in the division and distribution of this commodity
“ betwixt the Company and themselves.”

idea that banks might be discovered in the neighbourhood of the island, sufficiently productive for the establishment of an extensive fishery. Orders were, in consequence, transmitted, by the Court of Directors, for ascertaining this point; but with whatever alacrity these views might have been seconded by Government, it is pretty certain that the quantity of fish taken, at any time, has in no very great degree exceeded the daily consumption of the island. The small open boats in which the St. Helena fishery has hitherto been carried on, are not calculated to venture any considerable distance from the shore, or to take the full advantage even of such banks as have already been discovered. The most productive of these banks is New Ledge, situated about six miles to the s. s. w. of the island. It is composed of rocks and sand, and its soundings are from twenty-five to forty-five fathom; but its limits are by no means ascertained. A boat has been known to strike soundings at forty-five fathoms on this ledge, when five leagues distant from the land. It is only in the finest weather that boats can lay there; and they are obliged, on the least appearance of wind, to cut from their moorings, and run in with the utmost expedition. About four miles nearer to the shore is

Speric Ledge, on which there are four fathoms and a half of water; and here the sea, at times, breaks with such violence, that destruction would inevitably be the fate of any description of vessel that should attempt to lie on it in rough weather. Barn Ledge lies two miles off Prosperous Bay. Its soundings run from four to sixteen fathoms, and there is good fishing on it while boats can remain there. Though it is not liable to the disadvantage that attends Speric Ledge, with regard to the violence of the sea, yet a fresh breeze would render it very hazardous to fishermen in a small boat. The principal bank known to leeward is called Goodwin's Ledge, from its having been discovered by Governor Goodwin. It is about three miles distant from the land, with soundings from fifty to eighty fathoms. Less risk is to be apprehended from heavy seas on this ledge than upon those to windward; but dreadful accidents have, notwithstanding, frequently happened by boats being blown out to sea, and the unfortunate fishermen have perished miserably. It is hard to say what degree of success might result from the employment of fishing vessels of a proper description, capable of remaining out several days with safety and comfort to their crews. Banks, as yet unknown, might be explored, and fished

on with great advantage, and an important addition acquired to the natural resources of the island: but, in time of war, there might certainly be objections against adopting this system.

The late discoveries and improvements in the science of navigation have demonstrated the practicability of performing, in eight weeks, a passage which formerly required double that period of time. It had been a long-established opinion, that ships bound from Europe to St. Helena must necessarily proceed into nearly as high a latitude as the Cape of Good Hope before they bore up for the island. This, of course, precluded any idea of adopting it as a port for the outward-bound trade; and the want of so desirable a convenience induced the Company to send out three ships successively, to ascertain whether such an accommodation could be discovered at the islands of Tristan d'Acunha. The commanders employed in this expedition were ordered to communicate the result of their observations to Governor Blackmore; who, in the event of receiving a favourable report, was instructed to send a Governor and garrison to the proposed settlement, with all necessary tools and implements for erecting a small fort. En-

couragement was also held out for a certain number of families to remove thither from St. Helena, with whatever breeding-stock they might think proper, passage free. These islands are three in number, the largest of which is properly called Tristan d'Acunha, and lies in the thirty-seventh degree of south latitude, and in the twelfth degree west longitude from Greenwich. On the north side there is anchorage from twenty to thirty fathoms, opposite to a safe landing-place, and an abundant cascade, from whence good water can easily be procured. In addition to these advantages, it is situated not more than fifty leagues out of the track of ships bound from Europe to India and China. But the reason for relinquishing the design is not mentioned in the St. Helena records. By the account given in Sir George Stanton's narrative of Earl Macartney's embassy to China, it appears that the islands of Tristan d'Acunha were more than once regarded as an eligible situation for a settlement. One set of adventurers "had the project of rendering it a mart " for the change of the light manufactures of " Hindostan, suited to hot climates, for the " silver of the Spanish settlements in South " America, in the route between which places " it is conveniently situated. The other plan

“ meant, was only as a suitable spot for drying
“ and preparing the furs of sea-lion and seals,
“ and for extracting the spermaceti of the white,
“ or long-nosed whale, and the whalebone and
“ oil of the black species.”

On the 1st of October, 1690, Major Blackmore closed a troublesome government, and a long life, by a fall from the path-way on Putty-hill. He was succeeded by Captain Joshua Johnson, the Deputy-Governor, who, in three years after, fell a victim to the mutinous spirit by which the early annals of St. Helena are characterized. Four instances of mutiny had already occurred. The last was quelled with infinite trouble and much bloodshed ; but a fifth was unfortunately, attended with too much success to the conspirators.

Henry Jackson, a serjeant in the garrison, formed, with several soldiers, a plot to plunder the Company's treasure, and effect their escape in a ship called the Francis and Mary, then lying in the Roads, bound for Angola. The difficulties which they must necessarily have had to surmount in the execution of their scheme, had little weight with villains determined to carry their point through blood and massacre.

The period fixed for striking the blow was Friday, the 21st of April, 1693, when, in the tour of duty, Jackson became the serjeant of the fort guard. His accomplices, amounting to thirteen in number, were introduced within the gates before he delivered the keys to the Governor, who retired to rest without the slightest suspicion of what was to follow. In the middle of the night, the apartments of the Surgeon, and other Company's servants who resided in the fort, were visited by the conspirators, who disclosed their intentions separately to each person, and offered proposals to receive them into the confederacy. A rejection of these terms was followed by immediate confinement in a close and miserable dungeon. Four persons were intimidated by threats to assist the party. Having secured all within the walls, except the Governor and his family, further operations were suspended until daylight. At *reveillé* beat, the Governor, in total ignorance of his danger, came out, in his dressing-gown and slippers, to deliver the keys to Jackson, by whom he was instantly seized, and a scuffle ensued between them. At this moment some of the villains fired three shots at the Governor, one of which passed through Jackson's arm; but the Governor being wounded in the head, dropped immediately. After this

every access into the country was guarded, to prevent the escape of those who might desire to spread the alarm, as well as to secure such as should approach the town; and messages were sent to several persons in the valley, in the Governor's name, requiring their attendance at the fort. As they entered, they were secured by the mutineers, and imprisoned in the dungeon, which was soon crowded with about fifty persons, whites and blacks, in a state nearly approaching to suffocation. One of the mutineers proposed blowing up the prison with gunpowder; but this atrocious design was prevented by Jackson. The horrors of the unfortunate Mrs. Johnson's situation were aggravated by the brutal indecorum of the ruffians, who dragged her out of bed, and forced her into a closet, whilst they rifled the house, and secured the treasure. Nor was she suffered to visit her dying husband till nearly two hours had elapsed; when, at the Surgeon's earnest entreaty, he was permitted to attend him, and inspect his wounds, which were found to be mortal. The guns were then spiked, and the two small pieces of ordnance placed by Sir Richard Munden on the eastern eminence over the town, were dismounted, and their carriages tumbled down the precipice. Captain Kelinge, the Deputy-Governor, and Captain

Pitts, commander of the *Francis and Mary*, had also been seized. These gentlemen, with Messrs. Lufkin and Goodwin, and R. Gurling, who had been taken from the dungeon, were compelled to accompany the mutineers on board the ship, where they conveyed the treasure, and all the valuable articles they could collect. Being thus in possession of hostages, Jackson was determined not to leave the island without the requisite supplies for the voyage. In this view Mr. Goodwin was allowed to go on shore about eight o'clock that night; and he was desired to inform the people in the town, that if a shot was fired at the ship, the hostages should immediately be put to death. In the mean time, the persons in the dungeon, to their infinite joy, were liberated. On the following morning, the supplies for the ship were procured; and Captain Poirier, on whom the command had now devolved, came into the town, with a number of the inhabitants from the country. Several proposals were made to fire into the ship, as many of the guns had been unspiked; but, fortunately for the hostages, this measure was prevented by Captain Poirier. A boat was dispatched from the ship, with one of the mutineers, for the articles demanded by them; but he was informed that they should be delivered half way between

the ship and the shore, if the hostages were sent in a boat to meet them. This was positively refused; and the mutineers declared, that until their wants were supplied, Captain Kelinge should not leave the ship. Necessity forced a compliance with these terms; and, after the ship was beyond the reach of gun-shot, the hostages were put into a boat, with the four men that had been compelled to join Jackson's party, and were suffered to return on shore. By that time the Governor had died of his wounds. As an act of justice to Captain Pitts, Mr. Kelinge gave him a paper, under his hand, certifying that the Captain was innocent of any wilful part in this horrid transaction. From the conversation on board, it was imagined they would sail for America; but it was afterwards deemed more probable that their destination was Ireland *.

* For the information of such readers as may wish for a more particular account of this conspiracy, the following copies of some depositions, which were taken a few days after, are here inserted:

“ Richard Gurling, being sworn, saith, that on the 22d
“ day of April, 1693, he went down to the fort, in the
“ morning very early, with Captain Pitts, Thomas Good-
“ win, Andrew Rooker, and Hugh Bodley; so soon as they

In this manner was the death of the Governor effected, in the heart of his own garrison, by

“ were all entered in the fort, Serjeant Jackson stepped
“ before them, with a fuzee in his hand ready, and said,
“ ‘ Gentlemen, stand, and yield yourselves prisoners, or
“ else you are all dead men.’ Jackson came to him, whom
“ he asked what was the matter; who answered, ‘ Damn
“ you, I’ll kill you as soon as another man, for all you are
“ my father’ (for Jackson had married the said Gurling’s
“ daughter-in-law); so was immediately put into prison till
“ the evening, and then was called up to go on board with
“ them; which at first denying, but considering that if he
“ was forced to remain in prison all night, thought he
“ should have died before morning (having been almost
“ stifled already), being so many together in such a small
“ room, so was carried on board, with Captain Kelinge,
“ Captain Pitts, Thomas Goodwin, and John Lufkin.
“ Further saith, he remembers Jackson asked him his
“ counsel privately on board, and he answered him he
“ could not tell him what counsel to give him; and then
“ the said Jackson said he would go any where where Cap-
“ tain Pitts would have him. Jackson further told him,
“ that himself, John Wensley, and Robert Lightfoot, would
“ hold together, and put Thomas Gartry and his family
“ on shore at Ascension. Also saith, Captain Pitts wept
“ bitterly, and desired he might have liberty to go on shore,
“ but Jackson told him no harm should come to him, for
“ he would stick by him as long as he had a drop of blood;
“ and that he heard Captain Pitts say, that they had best
“ go to the Cape of Virginia, and as they met with ships
“ coming out, to distribute their company.

(Signed)

“ RICHARD GURLING.”

fourteen men, in open day; the fort plundered, and every necessary supply obtained by the vil-

The deposition of Thomas Goodwin,

“ Saith, on Saturday, the 22d day of April, 1693, very
“ early in the morning, being in his house in Chapel-Val-
“ ley Town, Captain Thomas Pitts, commander of ship
“ Francis and Mary, then in the Roads, came to call me
“ to go on board with him, as was agreed on the night be-
“ fore, who went, together with Andrew Rooker; so going
“ towards the fort, met with Hugh Bodley and Richard
“ Gurling, who were together towards the water side, to
“ call the boat on shore, and thought to have gone through
“ the fort as usual; as soon as all were within the fort,
“ Serjeant Jackson stept out of his room before us, with a
“ fuzee in his hand, cocked and guarded, said (or swore)
“ ‘Stand, and yield yourselves prisoners, or, before God!
“ you are all dead men.’ I was going to lay hands on the
“ Serjeant, thinking he had been a drinking, but before I
“ could do so, I saw several other soldiers behind us, who
“ said to same purpose as did the Serjeant, and further
“ added, that their design was to do us no harm, but take
“ the ship, and go away; so conveyed us all but Captain
“ Pitts to the dungeon. At the mouth of the dungeon was
“ much blood; which made Andrew Rooker to say, ‘Lord
“ have mercy upon us, there is blood spilt already.’ Go-
“ ing into the dungeon, we found several people there,
“ who told us the Governor was killed, or desperately
“ wounded. Afterwards, as people came to the fort, our
“ number was increased in the dungeon till we were almost
“ stifled with heat. About sun-set in the evening, I was
“ commanded out of the hole, with Mr. Lufkin and Richard

lains, upon their own terms, even while under the guns of the fortifications.

“ Gurling, where we found Captain Kelinge and Captain Pitts ; then we were all five conveyed on board the ship, “ where it was said Captain Pitts should be their navigator, “ that Captain Kelinge, Mr. Lufkin, Richard Gurling, and “ myself, as hostages, that the people might not fire upon “ them, and that they might have what necessaries they “ yet wanted. As soon as we were on board, we went into “ the great cabin, where was a great parcel of fire-arms, “ without ammunition, which lay in our way, which I “ took hold of to put under the table ; then came Wens- “ ley, swearing desperately he would secure you too : this “ fellow coming on rashly, stumbled, and fell down, but “ before he recovered, we made him understand we were “ only putting them out of the way. We that were on “ board as hostages, were much afraid of the people’s fir- “ ing on the ship which were on shore, and then at liberty, “ knowing that if they fired we should presently suffer, “ therefore entreated that one of us might be permitted to “ go on shore, to dissuade the people therefrom, and to tell “ the great danger he was now in that should be their Go- “ vernor ; which was granted, and that I should be the “ man ; and they demanded some dry beans, lemons, &c. “ Then I desired Captain Kelinge to give me some small “ note, which might empower me to seize those that would “ be refractory, and to take those beans, &c. where they “ could be found ; which, upon consideration, was granted, “ viz.

‘ Mr. Goodwin,
‘ Whereas I am confined,’ &c. &c.

Nor had a calm of a few months succeeded before the island was nearly consigned to the

“ Which note the rogues liked very well, and sent me off,
“ about eight or nine of the clock, with two Negroes to
“ row the boat, and ordered that their necessaries might
“ be got ready by the next morning ; which, with the as-
“ sistance of Captain Price, did get ready.

“ Before the next morning much people came out of
“ the country ; and, as there were many men, so they were
“ many minds ; some for firing on the vessel, and sink her,
“ so in a great hurly-burly ; but we were like men of war
“ without guns, for I searched the line round, and found
“ them all spiked up. About the break of day we cleared,
“ primed, and shotted several of our guns ; tho' not to be
“ fired so long as Captain Kelinge, &c. were on board,
“ knowing that the life of one honest man was better than
“ the death of so many rogues. In the morning there came
“ one of their crew, viz. Stephen Lancaster, to the rocks,
“ with Negroes to row the boat, and demanded some of
“ their necessaries ; but was answered, that they should
“ send a boat half way betwixt the ship and the shore, with
“ their prisoners, and then they should have them, for they
“ were ready ; who went off immediately, saying, ‘ I smell
“ a rat ; ’ for he saw Andrew Rooker, the armourer, clearing
“ some of the vents of the great guns. Not long after they
“ sent another of their rogues, viz. John Wensley, demand-
“ ing those goods again, saying, that they would not be
“ brought to compound upon any terms, but would carry
“ their prisoners out of gun-shot before they would release
“ them ; and further added, that they had liked to cut the

miseries of new insurrections. A general spirit of insubordination continued to threaten the public safety. It pervaded almost all ranks and classes. Planters, soldiers, and blacks, were alike infected. The militia were prepar-

“ throats of their hostages on Stephen Lancaster’s words
“ (who was before on shore), but that they knew him to
“ be a lying rogue; therefore he came to know the truth;
“ and further said, that an axe was laid to the cable, to
“ cut if he fired his fuzee, tho’ they sunk presently; and
“ that the prisoners should not have the honour to sink
“ with them, for they would presently be killed. I desired
“ him to put his boat to, and he should have his necessa-
“ ries, which he did, and by the time one hogshead of
“ beans was in the boat, there (by chance) fired in the fort
“ in firelock, which made this fellow sware desperately he
“ would fire; but I, with much persuasion of him, and
“ telling him I would go on board with him as his prisoner,
“ caused him to forbear; so I went off with him, which
“ put our people on board in a less fear. I was com-
“ manded on shore again to fetch other necessaries, viz.
“ a frying-pan, &c. they had formerly forgot, and was
“ commanded to come on board with them, which I did;
“ and when they weighed anchor, set sail, and run two
“ leagues off, then they put George Lock, Isaac Slaughter,
“ Joseph Davis, and Richard Evans, into our boat, saying,
“ that what Lock, Slaughter, Divis, and Evans, did, they
“ were forced to it by them; so release Captain Kelinge,
“ John Lufkin, Richard Gurling, and myself, with two
“ Negroes they had on board. Further sayeth not.

(Signed)

“ J. GOODWIN.”

ing to insist on being commanded by no other officers than those of their own election. Nor could this conspiracy be counteracted by any expedient but that of reducing the strength of the disaffected by enlisting several of their numbers into the garrison. There was also a continual apprehension of the blacks rising against the whites; a circumstance which sufficiently proves the laws respecting blacks were far from ensuring that subordination and rigid subjection which the severity of the code was intended to establish. Governor Kelinge very narrowly escaped the fate of his predecessor. A conspiracy of the blacks was formed to massacre the European inhabitants, to seize a ship, and convey themselves to their native countries. Jackson's success gave encouragement to such an enterprise. Fortunately this plot was discovered in time to prevent its consequences; and the ring-leaders were secured, and many of them punished by repeated and severe flogging, and then sent off the island. A more dreadful sentence awaited the three principals. One was "to be hanged " in chains, alive, on Ladder Hill, and starved " to death; two hanged and cut down alive, " their bowels taken out, and their quarters and " heads to be put in some publique crossway, " for the publique view of all Negros."

In truth, notwithstanding all that has been alleged in vindication of slavery, yet, to the unprejudiced and disinterested eye, it must, at best, appear as a flaw in the jurisprudence of a civilized nation. But if in any case its existence be deemed requisite, it surely becomes policy, as well as a moral duty, to suppress the temptation to revolt by ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and reconciling them to it by every humane method consistent with prudence; instead of having recourse to laws so execrable as to drive to desperation minds previously agitated by injury and misfortune. As this, however, is a subject that has been so fully discussed by much abler pens, it will be sufficient here to remark, that since the slaves have been placed on a footing more suitable to men than to brutes, no insurrection, or even serious riot, has either taken place or been apprehended; nor, if we can judge from the experience of the last twenty years, is any such event likely to occur.

On the 30th of November, 1697, Mr. Kellinge died of a dropsy, and was succeeded by Captain Poirier. The late Council having consisted only of the Governor and Deputy-Governor, the new Governor, on his accession, was left without a colleague; he therefore called in

an assistant, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, who had some time been employed in the Store-keeper's department, and was afterwards confirmed third in Council.

The futile efforts of weakness to maintain a tottering authority, constitute the characteristic features of this Government. To recount the numerous and gross insults offered to the Governor would be as unpleasant as uninteresting to the reader. Though proclamations for the observance of morality were issued, they could be to very little purpose, when an example was exhibited, even in the Chaplain, of debauchery and faction; and the conduct of the Deputy-Governor was marked by a turbulent and mutinous disposition*. The tax upon spirituous

* The Deputy-Governor, who had, in the most unprovoked manner, insulted the Governor, Poirier, and challenged him to fight, died on the 25th of May, 1702, and was succeeded by a Captain Toddington; but little advantage resulted from this change. Toddington, from the first day of his landing, showed a disposition to quarrel with the Governor; and, in a short time, his language might justly be termed mutiny. The violence of his conduct, at last, obliged the Council to suspend him; but submission, and protestations of future good behaviour, induced his restoration in a few days. He did not, however, long hold his situation; for the records exhibit a subsequent instance of

liquors, mentioned in the preceding chapter, was intended to operate as a prohibition of the distilleries; but it was by no means adequate to prevent intemperance. The number of stills upon the island became, at last, such a nuisance, that they were all suppressed, in the year 1700, by orders from England. Another attempt at insurrection by the blacks was punished by the execution of the principal ringleaders. The disorder of the times is further evinced by the numerous civil and criminal prosecutions, actions of assault and defamation, that encumber the records. The punishment usually inflicted was termed “riding the wooden horse,” because the delinquents were placed astride upon a horizontal beam, and remained in this situation a certain time, with one or more muskets tied to each leg.

The Governor had directed, that all ships should send a boat into Banks's Battery before they attempted to enter the Roads. His want of resolution to enforce this order, and to oblige the Company's ships to lie close in shore,

his being brought before Council, as a private individual, to answer a charge for a breach of the peace against his former friend and associate, the Chaplain; with whom he was now at enmity.

occasioned the loss of two of them, namely, the Queen and Dover, both of which were taken on the 1st of June, 1706, by a French force, under the command of Monsieur Desduguieres, on his return from India. At seven o'clock in the morning a signal was made for two sail in sight, and report described them as large ships, under Dutch colours, approaching the island; at ten they were opposite Banks's; and a gun being fired from thence (according to custom), they lowered their topsails, and saluted with five guns. One of them immediately stood towards the Queen, and running along side, poured in a volley of small-arms from the tops, which the Queen returned by a broadside, but was soon boarded, and taken. The enemy then hauled down their Dutch flag, and displayed French colours; and, both proving two-deckers, the Dover was also obliged to strike. As soon as this breach of the law of nations was perceived, orders were given, by the Governor, to fire upon the enemy from the batteries; but a sufficiency neither of powder nor match was at hand, and many of the sponges did not fit the guns. This occasioned such confusion and delay, that the French, with very little molestation, cut the cables of their prizes; and, after firing a few broadsides at the batteries, were soon out of the

reach of gun-shot. Monsieur Desduguieres had, some years before, visited the island, in time of peace, when he had been suffered by Governor Poirier to sound about the coast wherever he pleased, and to send his officers into the country, on pretence of shooting; but it is said they were very differently employed, and made whatever surveys they thought proper; so that the French commander was well aware of every circumstance that could oppose the execution of his plan. From several large ships passing the island immediately after the capture of the Queen and Dover, it may be inferred, that Monsieur Desduguieres might have brought a larger force to accomplish his design, had he thought the difficulty of the object would have required it. To guard against a second misfortune of this nature, the Company positively directed that all their ships, whilst they remained at St. Helena, should moor close in under Ladder Hill; and ordered, that no ship whatever should be suffered to pass Banks's Battery, without previously sending in a boat to request the Governor's permission for anchoring. The utmost endeavours were likewise exerted to carry forward the defensive works at Rupert's Valley, which had been commenced some time before, but had received much damage from floods.

The establishment of a new East-India Company, in prejudice to that already existing, is an occurrence so far connected with the present History, that it cannot with propriety be passed unnoticed. The jealousies and party spirit which resulted from the clashing of different concerns and rival interests, could not fail to create trouble, and even some degree of animosity, in the settlements abroad, as well as in England; nor was St. Helena totally exempt from these disturbances. The orders for exacting a duty of twenty shillings a ton from every East-India trader, not in the Company's service, that required refreshment at the island, were repeated during Captain Poirier's government; and, in consequence of the refusal of supplies to one of the new Company's ships, except in terms of the old Company's orders (who were the sovereigns of the island), the commander endeavoured to obtain by force what he might have procured in a legal manner; and sent a boat, manned and armed, towards one of the leeward valleys for water. The Governor, however, frustrated the attempt by detaching a part of the garrison, with orders to roll down stones on the watering party, but not to proceed to further hostilities, unless the boat's crew commenced a fire. Shortly after this, the new

Company sent an agent to reside at St. Helena, for the purpose of communicating instructions to the commanders of their ships. But as this was a measure for which the Governor and Council had received no sanction from their employers, the agent was informed, that whatever letters he was intrusted with should be delivered to the persons to whom they were directed; but that he himself must embark for England by the first opportunity. A termination to these, and similar differences, was shortly after effected by the incorporation of the old and the new Companies into one, under the title of the *United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies.* On this occasion St. Helena was transferred from the *old* to the *united* East-India Company, in whose possession, as Lords Proprietors, it has ever since remained.

On the 8th of September, 1707, Captain Poirier died of a lingering disease, and was succeeded by Captain Goodwin, who governed about eleven months. During this period, the Alarm-House*, on the ridge dividing a branch of

* Extract from consultation, the 24th of September, 1707 :

“ Whereas it hath been, for some time past, intended

Rupert's Valley from that of James's, was built, and the works at Lemon Valley repaired. On the 24th of August, in the following year, Captain Roberts arrived from England as Governor, and Captain Goodwin in consequence returned

“ and thought on to have a house built on the Alarm Ridge,
“ for the lodging of arms and ammunition, and posting of
“ two soldiers, in order to guard the ammunition and to fire
“ the alarm guns there as soon as they descried any ship or
“ ships, or upon the hearing of Prosperous Bay guns fire ;
“ it is an hour before those guns are fired after the Bay
“ guns ; and also for the conveniency of lodging the whole
“ party posted there in the night time, to prevent their
“ going home to their several houses, as usually did ;
“ and we thought it very necessary and convenient to go
“ and take a view of the said Alarm Ridge, to see which
“ was the most convenient place to build a house on.
“ Upon the viewing of Lemon Valley, to consider what was
“ needful to be done there, with the approbation of John
“ George Newman, Engineer, have laid out a platform of
“ three guns, to be erected on the east side of the valley,
“ with a house of thirty feet long and ten broad, with a
“ chimney ; and that a powder-room be built at the back-
“ side thereof ; and that a platform of two guns, with a
“ small powder-room, to hold only cartridges of powder,
“ on the west side of the valley ; both of which are upon
“ two little hills, clear from any floods, and will certainly
“ make the place impregnable.”

N.B. The force at that time allotted for the defence of Lemon Valley, consisted of an officer and two soldiers.

to his former situation of Deputy-Governor, and soon after died.

As we now approach a juncture when the island was rescued from a state of disorder and degradation by the able and energetic measures of Governor Roberts; and, as his wise administration forms a most striking contrast to that of his predecessors, it will be proper to reserve the account of his government for a new chapter.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE YEAR 1708, TO THE YEAR 1714.

The building of Munden's Point battery.—The present Castle in James's Valley commenced.—Hopes of discovering a gold and copper mine, fallacious.—Lime-quarries discovered.—Improvement of the Company's lands.—Sugar, rum, wine, brandy, bricks, and tiles, made on the island.—General improvement in respect to planting and enclosing.—Re-publication of the old laws.—Application from the inhabitants in consequence.—Answer.—Government-House in the country erected.—Plan for fertilizing Prosperous Bay Plain.—Resignation of Governor Roberts, and succession of Governor Boucher.—His government.—Resigns.

As security to the island was the first object of importance, the Governor's earliest attention was directed to the defences. On the day he landed, the engineer received instructions to give in a plan for a battery, to be erected at

Munden's Point; and two days after, a resolution was passed in Council to construct the present square fort in James's Valley, and also a new Government-House. For the better completion of such structures in a permanent and substantial style, it was deemed expedient to obtain a cement superior to the mud-mortar applied in ordinary buildings; and the importation of chalk from England, to be burnt into lime at St. Helena (a measure adopted on a former occasion), being attended with great expense and inconvenience, it was judged essential to obtain that necessary article, if possible, on the spot. A reward of one hundred dollars was accordingly offered for the discovery of this useful article; and, in the course of seven weeks, the researches of Aaron Johnson, a soldier, were in part successful; but the quantity he could procure being inconsiderable, he was not deemed entitled to the whole reward. The offer, therefore, of a remuneration in proportion to the capacity of the quarry, was published, to stimulate further exertions. But in this research avarice soon received another incitement. Appearances of gold and copper ore were discovered, in Breakneck Valley, by Captain Mashborne, a member of Council; who, as well as many others, was prosecuting his search for lime. A

proclamation* was, in consequence, issued, offering a reward of two hundred and fifty pounds for the discovery of a gold-mine, and one hundred and fifty pounds for a copper-mine. But no signs of either could be found. The supposed gold discovered by Captain Mashborne proving, when assayed in England, to be marcasites, as whatever particles of metal it contained could not be separated, but evaporated

* From consultation, 22nd February, 1709.

A Declaration by the Governor and Council.

“ That Captain Edward Mashborne, in digging of lime-
“ stone, in Breakneck Valley, amongst ‘em sent some that
“ was mixt with other stones and dirt ; which, being tried
“ in the fire, there was found mixt with it several specks
“ of gold. And Mr. Daniel Griffith since has sent to the
“ Governor two sorts of minerals, found the last week, by
“ Charles Rothwall, a soldier, lodging at his house: the
“ one is gold, the other we take to be copper; samples
“ whereof may be seen at the Governor’s house. Where-
“ fore, for the encouragement of any person that shall be
“ industrious towards finding a mine thereof, he shall have,
“ as a reward for his trouble, two hundred and fifty pounds
“ for the gold, and one hundred and fifty pounds for the
“ copper-mine: and this rainy season being the most pro-
“ per time for looking into all the water-falls and streams,
“ we desire they may apply themselves diligently there-
“ abouts, being assured there are such mines upon the
“ island.”

in fume. Whilst numbers sought to gain one of the highest prizes, the less lucrative object of lime was not forgotten ; and the exertions of the Governor and Captain Mashborne were crowned with success, by their actually finding mountains of extraordinary lime-stone at Sandy Bay*. A kiln was immediately ordered to be built there ; and it was ascertained by experiment that the process of burning could be performed as well by ebony as by coals. The ebony-tree is an indigenous production of the island, and formerly grew abundantly in many parts ; but, its bark being adapted to the purpose of tanning hides, which were exported to England and

* From consultation, 19th July, 1709 :

“ Our necessity is so great for want of coals, that we
“ thought it would have put a full stop to our work ; but
“ find that ebony wood will burn lime : and being in-
“ formed that there is huge quantities of that wood which
“ lies dead on the hill, near Sandy Bay, the Governor and
“ Captain Mashborne went there to view it, and found
“ the report true; for that there is abundance indeed ;
“ and just by that place where the wood lies is mountains
“ of extraordinary lime-stone ; and it will be much cheaper
“ to our Honourable Masters to bring lime from thence
“ ready burnt (being light), than to fetch that sort of
“ wood, which is very heavy, and bring it to the Castle in
“ James’s Valley.”

the West-Indies, quantities of these trees had been unnecessarily destroyed, by stripping the trunks, and not taking the trouble of barking the branches*; a practice which caused a shaineful

* From consultation, 19th July, 1709:

“ Forasmuch as the red-wood and ebony-wood, whose
“ barks are fit for tanning leather, are most of 'em de-
“ stroyed by the tanners, that for laziness never took the
“ pains to bark the whole trees, but only the bodies, leav-
“ ing the rest of the bark on the branches, which means
“ has destroyed all those trees, at least three for one; and
“ therefore, to prevent the like for the future, and to pre-
“ serve and recover so useful and necessary a thing for the
“ island use; Ordered, that no more hides be sold to the
“ people; for that we are about to engage one John Or-
“ chard, a tanner, who has offered himself, to tan and
“ dress those hides at three shillings and six pence a piece;
“ all other skins at the prices following: viz. a calf skin
“ at one shilling and six pence, a sheep skin at one shil-
“ ling and six pence, and goat skins at six pence each;
“ and have supplied him with one of the Honourable Com-
“ pany's blacks, to help and assist him, it being too much
“ work for himself: and the said Orchard hath obliged
“ himself to learne and teach the black his trade of a tan-
“ ner and currier, and that articles of agreement be drawn
“ accordingly. The advantages proposed to our masters
“ in this matter are thus:—First, the preservation of the
“ trees. Secondly, as we used to do, to sell those hides to
“ tanners at three shillings a piece, and that, when tanned,
“ sold them again from twelve to fourteen shillings a piece,

destruction of at least three trees, where one would have sufficed. To prevent a total extirpation of this wood, restrictions and limitations were not only laid on tanning, but the process of burning lime was, in a few weeks, suspended, and the completion of the battery at Munden's Point postponed, till coals could be procured from England. In the mean time, the blacks were employed in breaking lime-stone, in Rupert's Valley, where it appears a quarry had been discovered. As the engineer of the island had been dismissed from his situation*, Government

“ so that, one with another, we may probably clear seven
“ shillings a hide. And, if shipping comes, we may be
“ able to tan two hundred in a year (besides all other
“ skins), which will clear seventy pounds a year, if sold
“ out, besides the advantage of the small skins : and if wee
“ employ shoemakers to work 'em up, wee are apt to be-
“ lieve that this article will yield our masters one hundred
“ pounds a year, at least ; the loss of the work of the black
“ and all other charges deducted.”

* “ The Governor reports to the Council, that he ob-
“ serves the Engineer to be useless, running headlong
“ about business, without his directions ; which being fully
“ considered in Council, give their opinions of him : That
“ Christian Frederick Vogell is rather Pyoneer than an
“ Engineer, and no gentleman, by his actions and be-
“ haviour, and is altogether useless to serve the Honour-
“ able Company in any capacity, as being idle, ignorant,

was probably less anxious to forward defensive works, until professional assistance could arrive from England.

Whilst these measures were in train for fortifying the island and port, other points of moment were not disregarded. The state of the colony, in respect to planting and pasturage, demanded attention; particularly the condition of lands belonging to the Company, whose concerns had been much neglected, and even their interests sacrificed to private views, by permitting individuals to exchange unfenced grounds for improved Company's farms. The regulations noticed in the third chapter, obliging land-holders to render an acknowledgement to the Company of one shilling annually for every beast pastured on the waste land, appears to have been entirely overlooked; till Governor Roberts, by the confiscation of five head of cattle, put an end to any further violation of this law. The fences upon all the Company's lands

“ and lazy, not knowing how to obey orders, or give directions, by which means our Honourable Masters have suffered.

“ Resolved, That the said C. F. Vogell be dismissed the Honourable Company's service from this day.”

were ordered to be completed with the utmost expedition. Groves of gum-wood and lemon trees were planted, and nursed, and much care was bestowed on the cultivation of the shrub from which the castor-oil is extracted.

To carry forward the Company's works and plantations, it was judged requisite to procure two hundred slaves, in addition to the number already employed, which amounted to seventy-six, men, women, and children: and to provide sustenance for such an augmentation of numbers, became a subject of necessary consideration. A committee of three members of Council was ordered to survey all the Company's plantations, and report upon their capability; and to ascertain what contiguous grounds would answer for the cultivation of yams*. By the committee's

* Extract from consultation, dated the 18th April, 1710:

“ The increase of the yam plantations is of so great importance, especially since we have writ for two hundred blacks more; and therefore the Governor is of opinion, “ that we ought to increase the plantations to three millions of yams: and since it is the opinion of this Council that it will require no less than one hundred and twenty acres of good ground to plant three millions of yams;

report*, it appeared, that, after throwing out the exhausted plantations, no more yams could

“ It is ordered,

“ That Captain Mashborne, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Bazzett, go forthwith, and survey this island in those parts “ that are nearest to any of the Honourable Company’s “ plantations, as also the plantations themselves, and to “ make their report.”

* On the 21st of November following, the Committee of Survey presented their report to the Council; the result of which appears by the following extract from the consultation of the same date; viz.

“ Having duly considered the report aforesaid, we “ finde

“ Yams planted	477,340
“ And all the new ground that is, or	
“ can be, taken in, that is fitt to plant	
“ yams in, will contain	<u>675,956</u>
“ Which makes in all.....	1,153,296
“ Total of the old ground to be thrown	
“ out	<u>118,000</u>
“ Total of the planted yams, and yams	
“ to be planted.....	<u>1,035,296</u>

“ Which shews that we have not, nor can raise, provisions “ for above fifty blacks more; and that the charge to “ fence in the same will amount to five hundred and se- “ venty pounds fifteen shillings and four pence.”

be raised than would suffice for fifty additional persons. But the hill between Friar's and Breakneck Valley, which had always been regarded as an unproductive waste, attracted the attention of Governor Roberts, and he judged that, with the aid of water, about two hundred acres of it might be turned to very good account. After consulting with several experienced planters, he submitted his ideas to the consideration of the Council, and proposed to convey a stream of water from the springs at the Plantation-House to the head of the ground intended to be enclosed, where he designed to excavate one or more reservoirs, to guard against the effects of drought, or a failure of the springs. It was calculated that fifty acres of the new ground would produce one million five hundred thousand yams; that this quantity, together with the five hundred thousand supplied by the plantations already in cultivation, would be sufficient, with Indian corn and beans, to maintain, besides the garrison, an additional population of two hundred blacks; and that, if the whole two hundred acres were enclosed, they would be adequate to the maintenance of one thousand persons. Such a system would not only put a stop to the expense annually and necessarily incurred by the purchase of those articles, but

would also ensure an abundant supply of vines, and a sufficient stock of canes to make sugar, both for home-consumption and exportation. At this period, sanguine hopes were entertained of success in the manufacture of the last article. The Council unanimously concurred in authorizing the Governor to prosecute his plan at his own discretion ; and in thirty-four days a plentiful stream of water flowed to the head of the new ground. About sixty acres were immediately ordered to be enclosed ; and, by the expense incurred at the commencement of the work, the Governor was of opinion, that the whole could be completed for a less sum than his first estimate of one thousand two hundred and eighty-nine pounds twelve shillings. The remainder was determined to be taken in as soon as leisure would permit.

It is remarkable, that scarcely any further notice is taken of this plantation in any subsequent record ; and it is difficult to say why it was suffered to go to ruin. The soil appears excellent ; there could be no deficiency in the article of water, as, even so late as the year 1732, it was in contemplation to continue the water-course from thence to James's Valley, for the supply of the ships, the stream in that val-

ley having become rather brackish by a mixture with the salt springs in its progress to the sea.

The failure of Mr. Cox in his attempts to bring sugar and rum to perfection, and the unsuccessful experiments of professed vine-dressers and vintners, did not, as has been already observed, discourage the hopes of Governor Roberts. Sugar-canæs were found to flourish in Sandy Bay, and in other situations. In a very short time, the Governor reported his success to the Council, and was enabled to exhibit samples of sugar, rum, wine, and brandy. He also ascertained the practicability of making bricks and tiles*.

* On the 15th of August, 1710, the Governor exhibited to the Council a sample of St. Helena sugar; whereupon the following resolution was passed :

“ That a pound or two be sent to our Honourable Masters, by the next shipping; and that they may be acquainted that we have found the following articles since Governor Roberts came here: viz.

“ Lime,
“ Tyles,
“ Brick,
“ Cut-stones, for building,
“ Sugar,
“ Rum,
“ Mineralls of severall sorts.

To the influence of example in the good management of the Company's farms, and as an encouragement to the industrious, was added the force of proclamations to promote improvement; and persons to whom the appellation of *drones* became applicable, were sent off the island, and their lands allotted to others.

Many of the inhabitants derived a considerable income from letting out their slaves to the Company, as labourers, at the rate of one shilling and six pence per day (in former governments it was two shillings); but the Council now resolved, that no black should be hired by the Company, until his proprietor could certify that his land was fenced, and planted with a due proportion of wood. As a relief to those who, by putting their land in a proper state, were thus deprived of an immediate source of revenue,

“ Upon which we are now resolved to fire nine guns;
“ to drink our Honourable Masters' good health, and success to the island: for we are well satisfied this island
“ will turn to account, and not be a dead charge, as it
“ ever has been, if our Honourable Masters will be pleased
“ to encourage it, and supply these people with necessaries;
“ and then there will be no aversion against improvements,
“ but showers of blessings of these people will come to
“ them.”

provisions to the amount of three hundred pounds were ordered to be purchased from all planters who had any to dispose of, although no immediate necessity for this measure appears to have existed on the part of the Company. But the Governor wisely judged, that if the general improvement of the island would be promoted by such an expenditure, the sum could scarcely be laid out to more advantage. By these and similar means, a spirit of industry was roused among the planters, and their attention directed to proper and useful objects. Decayed fences, and ruined plantations, gave place to well-managed farms; sloth and intemperance were succeeded by sober habits; and the face of the country soon wore a new appearance.

So little attention had been paid, under former governments, to the orders transmitted, from time to time, by the Company, as standing regulations, that it was doubtful whether a number of them were obsolete, or yet in force; and many land-holders were ignorant of even the terms upon which they held their possessions. Two members of Council were, therefore, intrusted with the charge of arranging the various orders sent out, and engrossing them in a book to be entitled *Laws and Ordinances*.

In the course of three months, the gentlemen reported their work finished, and a meeting of thirty-six principal inhabitants was convened at the country church, that the code might be read, and copies delivered to the churchwardens for general distribution. Notice was at the same time given (with the sanction of the Company), that any observations, or proposals, offered on the subject, by the inhabitants, should be delivered in writing, and Government would take them into consideration.

The convention of the thirty-six nominated twelve of their number to act for them; and this committee, on the 14th of June, 1709, presented the following

Propositions and Address to the Governor and Council.

ARMS.

“ 1stly.—They desire the chief families may have arms in their houses.

ASSEMBLIES.

“ 2ndly.—In their friendly meetings and merry-makings, it may not be deemed as riots; and that upon any time, by order of

“ the Governor, they will separate, if ever it
“ should enter into his thoughts such meeting
“ is for any evil intention; which they say God
“ forbid it should.

ALARMS.

“ 3rdly.—They desire they may not be corporally punished, in case any neglect their
“ duty; but to be punished in their purses.

BLACKS.

“ 4thly.—They humbly desire, that when
“ their blacks are run away from them, they
“ may not be obliged to pay fourfold for what
“ they steale, but only to make sattisfaction for
“ the thing stole to the person injured.

MARKETT-HOUSE.

“ 5thly.—They desire, if there be a markett-house built, they mayn’t be obliged to bring
“ their goods out of the country to a publick
“ markett.

BEEFE.

“ 6thly.—They desire to have free liberty to
“ sell beefe to shipps.

DOGGS.

“ 7thly.—They desire that themselves may
“ not be obliged to lead their doggs in a string ;
“ but are willing their servants shall do it.

CATTLE.

“ 8thly.—They desire the toll of cattle may be
“ taken off that they sell to one another, which
“ is two shillings per head; for that the trouble
“ of giving such accounts is more burdensome
“ to them than the thing itself.

DITTO.

“ 9thly.—They desire that the trouble they
“ are put to, when they kill any cattle, in car-
“ rying the hide, hornes, and ears, to persons
“ that has bin appointed for that purpose, may
“ be redrest.

FENCING LAND.

“ 10thly.—They desire they may not be
“ obliged to fence in their land at all, it being a
“ new thing they never heard of before.

JURYS.

“ 11thly.—They desire all other matters may
“ be tried by jurys, besides life, limb, and land,
“ as the plaintiffe shall think fitt.

WHOLESALE.

“ 12thly.—They desire that the liquors, &c.
“ called Wholesale, being three gallous, may
“ be reduced to one gallon arrack, four pound
“ sugar, and one or two pounds of tobacco ; and
“ this be deemed a whole sale.

LIQUORS RETAYLED.

“ 13thly.—They desire that we would esta-
“ blish a certain rate upon liquors retayled by
“ the punch-houses.

CAUSES.

“ 14thly.—They desire to be tryed by the
“ civill law, and not by martiall law.

SHIPPS.

“ 15thly.—They desire the liberty that they
“ always had to go on board of any ship when
“ in the Road, asking the Government first.

TAXES.

“ 16thly.—They desire to be eased some-
“ thing in the tax of paying ten shillings every
“ year for each black they have.

GAME.

“ 17thly.—They desire that each chief of

“ family that has guns allowed them, may, for
“ their diversion, have liberty to go a shooting.

GREAT WOOD.

“ 18thly.—They desire liberty to make use
“ of the Great Wood and Common; otherwise
“ they will be ruined.

LESSEES.

“ 19thly.—They desire lessees may vote for
“ parish officers; and also serve in their turns.

“ And all these grievances they humbly begg
“ may be redrest, as by their ADDRESS, in the
“ following manner:—

“ ISLAND OF ST. HELENA:

“ That whereas your Worship and Councill
“ was pleased, on the 16th day of Aprill last
“ past, to summons thirty-six of the principal
“ inhabitants to the church in the country, and
“ there to hear the laws read over, which was
“ accordingly done: And forasmuch as we were
“ a long time kept in the dark, and knew no
“ thing of it; the inhabitants so summoned did,
“ by a consent, choose twelve of us to inspect
“ into them, and to make our remarks, upon
“ the promise of your Worship and Councill,

“ that in case of any grievance which appeared
“ reasonable, that your Worship and Councill
“ would be pleased to make address to the
“ Lords Proprietors for redress.

“ And this day we do with submission pre-
“ sent the same to your Worship and Councill,
“ with our remarks thereon, and hope you will
“ find them reasonable. And, in the mean
“ time, we shall be obedient to those laws and
“ orders delivered to the churchwardens on the
“ 26th of April last past.

“ And whereas your Worship and Councill
“ having represented to us the necessity we are
“ in, for the good of ourselves and successors,
“ to use means for the preservation of wood,
“ which grows very scarce, and will inevitably
“ be, at last, the undoing of the island and the
“ inhabitants of it, if due care is not taken for
“ the maintaining of wood in planting the same;
“ Wee, making serious reflections on this ac-
“ count, come to this conclusion; viz.

“ That every planter possessed of twenty
“ acres of land, shall be obliged to enclose one
“ acre, and plant it with wood, and so propor-

“ tionably for more or less; and to take that
“ care that no cattle or hoggs shall come to
“ graze on the said land, that the said wood so
“ growing may not be spoiled. And also, that
“ every planter shall, from the time of this re-
“ solution, be obliged to fence the said piece of
“ land in three years time. This is to be un-
“ derstood of those planters that have no wood
“ growing on their land, to take in any more
“ land for the same purpose.

“ After having made inspection into all the
“ laws concerning this island which your Wor-
“ ship and Councill have bin pleased to com-
“ municate to us, to the end where we saw any
“ thing that was not agreeable to peace, and
“ against the common interest of the island, to
“ make our remarks thereon, and to give our
“ reasons for it, which we have done accord-
“ ingly: We hope, if your Worship and Coun-
“ cill find any thing in those remarks and rea-
“ sons that are not consonant with reason, will
“ not attribute it to us, as done on purpose to
“ infringe some of the properties that rightly
“ belong to the Honourable Company and the
“ Government of this place; but are willing to
“ submit ourselves to any thing that reasonably

“ shall be established by your Worship and
“ Councill; and that every one of us will
“ comply with the utmost of our power, for
“ we all know we must submit ourselves to our
“ superiors, not only for wrath, but conscience
“ sake also. And we hope that every one of
“ us and all together, will do our utmost en-
“ deavours to do any thing for the preservation
“ of this island, and the good of the Honourable
“ Company; and that we promise that we will
“ not be remiss in our military dutys; but when
“ occasion shall present, wee will not be frugal
“ of our blood, but ready to spil every drop of
“ it for the preservation of the island, our
“ wives and families, against any enemy that
“ shall come here to invade us. And finally,
“ we give your Worship and Councill our hum-
“ ble thanks for having bin pleased to commu-
“ nicate to us the aforesaid laws and constitu-
“ tions for our perusal, that we might the better
“ be enabled to know our duty (a thing which
“ was never done before), but have always bin
“ kept in ignorance of the same.

“ We have no more to say to your Worship
“ and Councill; but wishing you all the health
“ imaginable in your government, and we a
“ quiet and peaceable living under it, which we

“ beseech Almighty God to grant to you and
“ us, we remain

“ Your Worship and Councill's

“ most humble

“ and obedient servants,

“ HENRY COALS,

“ JOHN NICHOLS,

“ THOS. SWALLOW,

“ ROBT. ADDIS,

“ MATT. BAZETT,

“ JAMES GREENTREE,

“ HENRY FRANCIS,

“ RICHARD GURLING,

“ ORLANDO BAGLEY,

“ CHARLES STEWARD,

“ JOHN COLES,

“ RICHARD SWALLOW.”

To each of the foregoing articles the Governor and Council annexed their answers: and the committee, on the part of the inhabitants, subjoined a declaration, expressive of their satisfaction to most of the Council's resolutions, as follows: first,

ARMES.

“ As to armes, the Governor will give them
“ his warrant in the following manner to such
“ chiefs of families:

“ Forasmuch as the principal inhabitants of
“ this island have solicited to have armes in
“ their houses, which they think very necessary
“ to them (which the law prohibits), but the
“ Governor and Councill have dispensed with
“ it;

“ Wherefore this does give leave and licence
“ to you, Mr. A. B. for such necessary armes
“ as you think convenient; which armes you
“ are to deliver up at any time when required
“ by order of the Governor for the time being;

“ And you have further power to seize any
“ armes from any person that has not my li-
“ cence; which armes shall be your's to dispose
“ of as you think fitt, giving me notice of the
“ person; and for so doing this shall be your
“ warrant.

“ Given under my hand, this 14th day of
“ May, 1709, at the United Castle,
“ in James's Valley.

“ JOHN ROBERTS.”

And then ordered that the following declaration be issued out :

“ ST. HELENA.

“ These are to give notice to all persons inhabiting the said island, that none do presume to possess, keep, or carry, any armes, without leave and licence first obtained from the Governor, under hand and seale, upon penalty of twenty shillings to the Honourable Company, and having the same seized and taken from them by any person licenced thereunto, for their owne use, and to receive such corporal punishment as the Governor and Council shall think fitt; and that no licenced person do lend, or permitt any person to make use of their armes, upon the penalty of having their licence and armes forfeited.

“ Dated the 31st day of May, 1709. At the United Castle, in James's Valley.

“ Signed per order of the Governor and Council, per me,

“ JOHN ALEXANDER.

“ *They are sattisfied.*

ASSEMBLYS.

“ 2ndly.—God forbid that any merry meetings and innocent diversions should be deemed riots: it's not the intent of the law.

“ *Satisfied.*

ALARMS.

“ 3rdly.—You shall not suffer corporal punishment for not coming to alarms; except it be in time of warr.

“ *Satisfied.*

BLACKS.

“ 4thly.—We shall dispense with that law of fourfold, and desire the Lords Proprietors to repeal it.

“ *Satisfied.*

MARKETTS.

“ 5thly.—As this law is not penall, we cannot see how it can be a grievance; and altho' marketts have never bin used, and not beneficial to the inhabitants, it is no rule it ever should, so in your favour we shall write to our Masters about it.

BEEFE.

“ 6thly.—You desire free liberty to sell beefe.

“ We shall write to our Masters in your favour
“ about it.

DOGGS.

“ 7thly.—You desire not to lead your doggs
“ yourselves, but your servants.

“ We shall dispense with it.

“ *Satisfied.*

CATTLE TOLLED.

“ 8thly.—You desire the toll of cattle may
“ be taken off, for that it creates you a great
“ deal of trouble.

“ It is necessary that we should know how
“ you sell your cattle to one another, because
“ of our Common, that it may both prejudice
“ you and us too by not knowing it.

CATTLE.

“ 9thly.—You desire that the trouble you are
“ put to, when you kill any cattle, in carrying
“ the hide, hornes, and ears, to persons ap-
“ pointed, may be redrest.

“ We designe to make this trouble easier to

“ you; but the law is of so great use to this
“ island in generall: as for example, a man kills
“ a beast, and sends for his next neighbour, he
“ being a reputed man, and warranted by the
“ Governor to have armes in his house; he
“ shews him the mark of his beast that he has
“ killed: That shall be a testimony sufficient,
“ without going any further. Now the usefull-
“ ness of it: A man loses a beast, and getts a
“ warrant to search suspected houses, in which
“ houses, if they find any beefe, if he cannot
“ bring his testimony that he killed it at such a
“ time, by such substantial men as aforesaid, or
“ where he had the same, such person ought to
“ be convicted.

“ And we believe if it went as far as hoggs,
“ goats, and sheep, it would be much to your
“ benefit, for (if we are rightly informed) that
“ several suspected persons eat more flesh than
“ we think in reason and conscience they are
“ able to do if they come by it honestly.

“ *Satisfied.*

“ And ordered that a new statute be penned
“ accordingly, and sent home by this shipping
“ to the Honourable Lords Proprietors, for

“ their concurrence ; and that it take force from
“ the publication.

LANDS.

“ 10thly.—You desire you may not be
“ obliged to fence in your lands at all; it being
“ a new thing you never heard of before.

“ This law has bin made above twenty-seven
“ years ago, and no doubt but it hath bin pub-
“ lished, for it is what you hold your lands by.
“ And we must say, by this law, that what land
“ is not fenced in, is, by course, the Lords Pro-
“ prietors: We have no other way to know
“ which is your land and which is theirs. How-
“ ever, because you say you have bin so long
“ kept in the dark, by not knowing any thing
“ of it, we shall, for this time, neglect our duty
“ in making seizures, and will intercede with
“ the Lords Proprietors that the time appointed
“ for enclosing may begin anew from the 25th
“ of March last. In the mean time friendly
“ advise you to enclose as fast as you can, least
“ we should be checkt for this our neglect of
“ duty, and receive orders from them to make
“ seizures.

CAUSES BY JURYS.

“ 11thly.—You desire all other matters may
“ be tryed by jurys besides life, limb, and lands,
“ as the plaintiffe shall think fitt.

“ No Governor and Councill will trouble
“ themselves to give sentence upon intricate
“ matters, and that may be of great importance,
“ as you urge by giving a definitive sentence,
“ tho' never so just, seldom pleases both par-
“ tys, which creates an odium to the Governor
“ and Councill, when the same thing may be
“ judged by yourselves. As the Governor is
“ Judge of that court, he ought to be a judge
“ what shall be tryed by jurys, and what he him-
“ self will try in Councill; otherwise, a litigious
“ man that hath wealth, and a cause depending
“ with a poor man, altho' a trifling one, shall
“ come and demand to be tryed by a jury,
“ which will create the poor man such a charge
“ that he will rather sit down in his wrong.

“ The Governor would willingly put you in
“ mind, that he hath refused to try severall
“ causes in Councill, as some of you know.

“ And, indeed, to take all this matter right,

“ we look upon it as a burden our Masters has
“ laid upon us to ease you.

“ *Satisfied* that the Governor shall
“ be judge of what shall be tryed
“ in Councill, and what in Court,
“ except life, limb, and land.

LIQUOR.

“ 12thly.—You desire that the liquor called
“ wholesale, being three gallons, may be re-
“ duced to one gallon arrack, four pounds su-
“ gar, and one or two pound of tobacco, be
“ deemed wholesale.

“ We cannot see what occasion there is to
“ deem any thing wholesale less than what is
“ expressed in the law, without prejudice and
“ wrong to those who pay for licences. And
“ you all know very well that you may have
“ what small quantity you please out of the
“ stores, even to a pound, or quart, of any
“ thing.

“ *Satisfied*.

DITTO, RETAYLED.

“ 13thly.—You desire that we would esta-

“ blish certaine rates upon liquor retayled by
“ the punch-houses.

“ ORDERED,

“ That the following declaration be issued
“ out :

“ These are to give notice to all lycencees, or
“ retaylers of strong liquors, that a bowle of
“ punch, made with one pint of arrack, with
“ sugar and lemon answerable, be, from the day
“ of the date hereof, sold at two shillings per
“ bowle, and no more, while arrack is at six
“ shillings per gallon: and if any one presumes
“ to exact more, shall, upon information thereof
“ given to the Governor and Councill, forfeit
“ their license, and double the value. Which
“ pint of arrack aforesaid is to be put into such
“ sizeable bowle as will not be too strong, nor
“ yet too weak, but palatable and pleasant for
“ the buyer. But if any lycensee or retayler of
“ liquor shall think this not a sufficient proffitt,
“ they may deliver up their licences, paying
“ proportionable for the time they have had it,
“ after the rate of four pounds per annum;
“ which all such retaylers are to do within eight
“ days from the date hereof.

“ *Sattisfied.*

MARTIALL LAW.

“ 14thly.—You desire to be tryed by civil
“ law, and not by martiall law.

“ We shall write to our Masters about it;
“ we think it is but reason that the planters
“ should be tryed by the civill law, except it be
“ in time of war and action, or, that we hope
“ never to see, rebellion, cowardice, neglect of
“ duty, which may be the ruine of the island,
“ and severall other misdemeanors, in time of
“ action, which cannot be judged by the civil
“ law; and we likewise design in our court
“ martiall to choose such of the worthy people
“ of this island to be of it.

“ *Satisfied.*

GOING ON BOARD SHIPS.

“ 15thly.—You desire the liberty that you
“ always had of going on board any ship or
“ ships in the Road, asking the Governor’s
“ leave.

“ It is what our Masters say was never done
“ at the Cape, or, as we know of, done in any
“ other Dutch factory in India; however, if

“ there be any urgent occasion, the Governor,
“ at that time, will not deny them leave.

“ *Satisfied.*

BLACK'S TAX.

“ 16thly.—You desire to be eased something
“ in the tax of ten shillings every year for each
“ black you have.

“ There is no nation under the hopes of Hea-
“ ven, nay, we are apt to believe, if there be
“ any wild people, they contribute to their own
“ safety in some measure. And if any man
“ will look into our mother-country, England,
“ we shall there find the four shillings in the
“ pound tax alone gives the Queen, every fifth
“ year, their whole estate, besides taxes of win-
“ dow lights, parrish dutys, and Parsons tythes,
“ and sundry other taxes, which every English-
“ man knows that he that has five hundred
“ pound per annum never gets in above three
“ hundred pound, and very well if that. And
“ now that the Honourable Company has, for
“ six years last past, paid for fortifications, by
“ employing the blacks and artificers of this
“ island, about fifteen hundred pound a year,
“ besides the constant charge of the garrison,
“ &c. for your preservation. We shall only

“ now give you our Masters’ reasons; but must
“ tell you we little expected, at this time of day,
“ such an article from you; which, indeed, as
“ we find, by a medium of six years last past,
“ amounts but to fifty-eight pounds per annum:
“ a great mite to such a vast charge.

“ The reason of which order is, as the Negroes
“ increase upon the island, it will be necessary
“ for the Honourable Company proportionably
“ to increase the garrison and soldiers, for the
“ security of the inhabitants, as well as the
“ island.

LYSENCE TO SHOOT.

“ 17thly.—You desire that each chief of a
“ family that have guns allowed you may have
“ liberty to go a shooting for your diversion.

“ You must keep within the law of the pre-
“ servation of game. But if any person should
“ desire any further priviledge, they are not to
“ presume to do it without leave first had of the
“ Governor, which is left to his pleasure to give
“ or let alone.

“ *Satisfied.*

GREAT WOOD.

“ 18thly.—You desire leave of the Great
“ Wood and Common.

“ Provided you will agree to make a law to
“ plant one acre of wood in every ten acres of
“ land you possess; otherwise you shall have
“ no benefit of our Wood or Common, as our
“ published order.

“ *Agreed to and Satisfied.*

LESSEES.

“ 19thly.—You desire lessees may vote for
“ election of parish officers, and serve in their
“ turns.

“ We shall dispense with that, and write to
“ the Lords Proprietors to repeal that law, and
“ hope they will comply.

“ *Satisfied.*”

The land-holders, therefore (by the 19th article), readily acceded to any terms rather than lose the advantage of so valuable a common; and the proposition of the Council on this subject, as well as on the other articles submitted to their consideration, appears to have met with the

acquiescence of the Company*; but the law which required the hide, ears, and horns, of every beast slaughtered, to be exhibited to certain specified persons, was enforced with greater rigour than before†.

* Some further regulations were promulgated, or republished, at the same period; for particulars of which see Appendix, H.

† “ By the Governor and Council, and the inhabitants of
“ the island of St. Helena.

“ A LAW

“ *For the better prevention and apprehending of felons.*

“ Whereas great and grievous complaints have been
“ made, by severall good people of the island, that divers
“ felonys, larcenys, and pelfrages, and such like offences,
“ are many times done, to their great loss and prejudice.
“ And that severall idle and evil disposed persons do kill
“ and eat more flesh than they can be reasonably supposed
“ to do conscientiously and honestly: And we are further
“ credibly informed, and inclined to believe, that the clan-
“ destine way and method used in this island, among the
“ people, of killing, offering, and putting to sale, their cat-
“ tle, goods, and other merchandize, in private manner,
“ and obscure places, not bringing the same to markett, or
“ selling the same in open shoppes, or stalls, is a great cause
“ of such enormitys; for that such private and secret sales
“ and slaughters are found to be the means of encouraging
“ many thieves, who easily convey the said goods, by them

Under the vigilant eye of the Governor, rapid progress was made in the work at Munden's

“ stolen and pilfered, to shipping and strangers, that there
“ can be nothing found against them to their conviction.

“ For remedy whereof, and for the better detecting and
“ apprehending of all such lewd persons, and bringing them
“ to condign punishment,

“ We do absolutely enjoin all and every person or per-
“ sons inhabiting the said island, that, from henceforth,
“ when they kill for their own use, or others, or kill, ex-
“ change, or part with, any kinde of beast, or cattle, as
“ oxen, runts, steers, kine, heifers, calfes, sheep, lambs,
“ goats, kidds, hoggs, they shall be obliged to repair to, or
“ send for, and give notice thereof to, some person or per-
“ sons warranted by the Governor to keep arms, who are
“ hereby appointed and empowered to view, inspect,
“ search, and examine, the ears, hides, and horns, of every
“ beast so killed, or to be sold, whereby to be informed and
“ satisfied that it hath the true and proper mark of the
“ owner, or possessor, and whose mark, or that the dis-
“ poser, or seller, hath a property therein. And if any
“ person or persons shall presume or endeavour fraudu-
“ lently to hide, or conceale, any such sale, or slaughter,
“ or kill, or dispose of, any beast, without notice given,
“ and search made, as aforesaid, otherwise than according
“ to this law, and be thereof lawfully convicted, he, they,
“ and every one of them, shall be, and are hereby declared,
“ and shall be deemed and adjudged, as felons; and the
“ beast so concealed, not viewed, and unlawfully killed, or

Point; and the Company's orders for erecting barracks, which had been very incompletely

“ made away, shall be forfeited, the one half to the Honourable Company, and the other half to the informer, or prosecutor. And we do further declare, that any person or persons, warranted by the Governor to keep arms, shall have power to enter into, and search (as for stolen goods), the houses of all and every unlicensed person whom they shall vehemently suspect, by circumstance or otherwise, fraudulently and clandestinely to kill any meat, and where any flesh, or skins of a beast, shall be found, of which they can give no reasonable or good account how they came by the same, or produce the party of whom they bought the same, or some credible witness of the sale thereof; he, or they, shall be subject to the forfeiture and penaltys of clandestinely and feloniously killing a beast, as if thereof convicted.

“ And we do hereby further declare, that when any person, not licensed to keep armes, shall be obliged to get two licensed persons to view and examine the marks; but when any person, having the Governor's warrant for arms, do kill, sell, or dispose of any, the testimony of one single person shall be sufficient.

“ And we do further declare and enjoin, that all and every inhabitant do, at the marking of their cattle, procure one, or more, sufficient witness, to be then and there present: but always the unlicensed person to have two present, as witness of their actions, upon the penalty aforesaid.

effected under Governor Blackmore, were carried into execution. As a proper and commodious house was much wanting on the Company's principal farm (the present residence of the Governor), a suitable edifice was constructed there; and on account of its centrical situation, the Governor proposed adopting it as a place of arms.

To fertilize the extensive plain which lies between Long Wood and Prosperous Bay, was another object on which the zealous mind of the Governor was intent. On examining the soil, he was convinced that, with the aid of water, it might be rendered productive; an opinion which has since been realized by an experiment of Lieutenant-Governor Graham. There is apparently little doubt, that, with some expense, this barren and unprofitable waste might be converted into a forest of cocoa-nut or date trees. Though it be far removed from any spring, and too much elevated to derive advantage from neighbouring streamlets, Governor Roberts did

“ And we do further declare, that the informer, or pro-
“ secutor, shall have, over and above the half of the beast
“ forfeited, and clandestinely made away with, as aforesaid,
“ half the four-fold, being part of the penalty inflicted on
“ felons.”

not despair of success. He submitted his plan to the consideration of the Council, by whom it was approved, and the undertaking was, in consequence, commenced; but, unfortunately for the island, the short period of Captain Roberts's government prevented the execution of this and other designs. He had intimated to the Company his desire of returning to England, and Captain Boucher, who was appointed to succeed him, arrived at the island in August, 1711.

Captain Roberts's government may very justly be said to form a new era in the history of St. Helena. The preceding chapters sufficiently point out what must have been the state of the colony upon his arrival. The general disorder demanded a reform such as could scarcely be expected to take place within some years; but the accumulated defects which had arisen and multiplied under his predecessors, were at once corrected by his upright, decided, and able conduct.

At a meeting of the inhabitants, shortly after he assumed the government, he made the following declaration:—" Gentlemen, I am very jealous of my Masters' honour, and it is not in my power to receive any affront if I would;

“ for, as I and these gentlemen of the Council
“ represent them, so no affront can be put upon
“ me, but must immediately fall upon the Lords
“ Proprietors. No man shall come to me with
“ a civil question but shall receive a civil an-
“ swer; and I would have you assure yourselves
“ that sudden affronts shall receive sudden
“ punishment.” To this resolution his actions
well corresponded; the factious and turbulent
were humbled before him, and attention to busi-
ness, regularity, and economy, were established
in every department; whilst strict justice, im-
partiality, a conscientious regard to the Com-
pany’s interests, temper, candour, and humanity,
distinguished the measures of this excellent Go-
vernour. His labours probably derived some aid
from the chaplain, Mr. Tomlinson, who is men-
tioned as a worthy character, and is the first in-
stance of such a clergyman that appears on
record for thirty years back. A tranquillity
hitherto unknown obtained, at last, a compara-
tively permanent foundation; and from this
period the island assumed a new character.

But a vigorous execution of laws which had
long remained disregarded, and the upright prin-
ciples of Captain Roberts, appear to have ren-
dered him obnoxious to those who were desirous

of accommodating their private views at the expense of the Company's interest; and, as truth and justice could form no basis for open remonstrance, secret misrepresentation and detraction were the only weapons that could be employed against him with any probability of success.

George Hoskinson, a wealthy planter, had, by a breach of the laws, incurred a forfeiture of his lands*; and is mentioned on record as a

* Extract from consultation, dated the 7th of January, 1709-10:

“ Whereas, by the laws and constitution of this island, “ the conditions and obligations whereby people hold and “ possess lands, so that all and every person possessing and “ enjoying any land in this island, shall, for the preserva- “ tion and defence thereof, keep and maintain two English “ persons on every twenty acres of land, whereof one a man “ able to bear arms.

“ Also, by another statute, it is ordained, that if any “ person or persons, having inhabited on any parcell of “ land allotted to him or them, and planted and improved “ the same, and shall afterwards desert the said plantation, “ so that for six months there shall not inhabit and be “ maintained on every twenty acres two persons and two “ cows, and on ten acres one man and one cow, that then “ it shall be lawful for the Governor and Council of the said “ island, and they are thereby required, to seize the same

person who, with the exception of murder, “ it “ would be no hard matter to prove had broke “ through all laws both of God and man.”

“ into their hands for the use of the Honourable East-India “ Company, and to re-dispose of the same, notwithstanding “ the former allotment or grant to such person or per- “ sons, or any other matter or thing to the contrary.

“ Now whereas George Hoskinson is actually possessed “ of, and stands charged with, the severall plantations fol- “ lowing; that is to say,

“ 1st. An estate at the Horse-pasture, containing fifty “ acres of land, purchased formerly of Richard Gurling.

“ 2nd. The estate of William Frenche's orphans, con- “ taining forty acres.

“ 3rd. The estate of Bowman's children, containing “ eighty acres.

“ 4th. The estate of Beale's orphans, containing sixty “ acres.

“ 5th. Land purchased of Captain Goodwin. Ten “ acres.

“ 6th. Three acres of Keeling's chilidren.

“ 7th. And twenty-five acres hired of the Honourable “ Company. Containing, in the whole, two hundred and

Hoskinson had proceeded to England, and, by a plausible statement, recovered his pos-

“ sixty-eight acres of land. Whereon formerly did live
“ and inhabit six familys at least, and consequently six
“ able men, that bore arms for the defence of the island, at
“ least.

“ Now the aforesaid George Hoskinson having, on or
“ about the 6th of July, 1708, clandestinely left the said
“ island, without licence under the hand of the Governor
“ and Council, which the law requires in that case, which
“ is an evident desertion of all the lands, plantations, and
“ possessions aforesaid, thereby exposing and weakening
“ the island, especially now, in the very heat of war, and
“ in contempt of the laws of the island, and the funda-
“ mental constitution thereof.

“ And forasmuch as it is our duty, and what is required
“ of us by the Lords Proprietors, to see that the laws be
“ impartially executed; and we are sorry at this time that
“ George Hoskinson and his wife should give us so just a
“ cause to take away their estate, which, out of pity to
“ his wife and children, have deferred so long, contrary to
“ our duty to her sacred Majesty Queen Ann, of Great
“ Britain, &c. and to the people of this island, for the pre-
“ servation of them and their familys to futurity.

“ Wherefore it is unanimously resolved, and the laws
“ and constitution do require, that all and singular the
“ severall possessions, land, and plantations, aforesaid, in
“ the possession of the said George Hoskins, shall and are

sessions, and returned to the island, with Governor Boucher, in the capacity of Deputy-Governor. But the Company were soon undeceived with regard to his character; and his death, which happened shortly after, was probably the only circumstance which could have saved him from a disgraceful dismission.

“ therefore forfeited to the Honourable Lords Proprietors of this island; reserving, notwithstanding, to ourselves the restitution of the orphans’ lands, which they may justly and lawfully claim, and due application will be made to the Lords Proprietors in their behalf.”

The Council were, at the same time, desirous of alleviating Mrs. Hoskinson’s distress as much as possible. The following is an extract from consultation, dated 17th January, 1709-10 :—

“ ORDERED,

“ That Mrs. Hoskinson should have the liberty to live upon old Bowman’s land, and have the provisions upon young Bowman’s land, her former husband, and also the provisions upon the ten acres they bought of Captain Goodwin, for the term of one year, commencing from the day of the date hereof; paying to us, for the use of the Lords Proprietors, four shillings per acre rent, and one shilling per acre revenues, according to the custom of letting lands on this island; and that she doe not presume to endamage the said lands, in no respect whatsoever, but, as they dig yams, she doe cause to be planted the like quantity.”

Before Captain Roberts left the island, he offered his aid and advice to promote the improvements in progress, as well as those which had been in contemplation. As he was informed of charges against him for tyranny and oppression, particularly in the case of Hoskinson and his family, he requested that a proclamation might be issued, requiring his accusers to stand forth, and engaging, if it could be proved that he had acted with injustice towards any man, he would make retribution to the uttermost farthing. To this offer he received a most ungracious answer, in which new accusations were brought forward; and though the Council expressed their willingness to issue the proclamation desired, yet it does not appear that any such notice was published, and the insertion of his reply to the Council's illiberal reflections seems to have been intentionally omitted in the records*.

* Copy of a letter from Captain Roberts to Governor Boucher and Council:—

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ Sept. 24, 1711.

“ The commanders of the last summer shipping, both
“ men of warr and merchant men, advised me by all means
“ to mount the biggest gunns there was upon the island in
“ that castle I was then building at Munden’s Point.

But this injurious treatment of a man

“ Of the same opinion were all the commanders of this
“ summer shipping; and, had there been materialls, I had
“ then mounted them.

“ But now there is timber and cordage enough, and I
“ think there is the same blocks I purchased the demi-
“ cannon on shore with; and though it may take more
“ time, for want of more blocks, yet I hope to see 'em all
“ mounted before I go off, and to forward the same I shall
“ not be wanting with my best help, assistance, and advice.
“ And likewise shall shew the scheme of what fortifica-
“ tions and buildings was designed more, and the draught
“ of the lee part of this island, where, and in what places,
“ and what sort of fortifications was to be built.

“ And also shall give you an account of improving this
“ island, or any other matters I am capable to advise you
“ of, that may any way tend to the Honourable Compa-
“ ny's interest and concerns; being in hopes to have the
“ honour, when I come home, to serve them in another
“ capacity, and therefore shall intirely submit to their
“ judgement, to gratify me for any service I am capable to
“ do them.

“ I am further to acquaint you, that I have a long time
“ waited with patience, and avoided all manner of conver-
“ sation, being informed that George Hoskinson was to
“ sue me for damages about the seizure of his land.

“ And likewise, that the cause of John Alexander should
“ have a re-hearing; and also the cause of the widow
“ Alexander, now the wife of Thomas Gargen.

whose merits had been so conspicuous, together

“ As also the cause of Humphry Edwards; and a ser-
“ geant that was dismist.

“ But finding so much time gone, and nothing done in
“ relation to these affairs, therefore I desire that for any
“ faults committed during my government, they may be
“ heard as soon as possible, that so where any injustice or
“ wrong has been done, they may have satisfaction while I
“ am here.

“ The sooner, I say, these matters are decided the bet-
“ ter, because I have some matters to lay before you that
“ tend to the Honourable Company's interest, and to the
“ good and welfare of this island, which will not ly regu-
“ larly before you to effect those good ends till these causes
“ are over.

“ This being your consultation day, I have desired Mr.
“ Joseph Tomlinson to deliver you this.

“ I am, Gentlemen,
“ Your humble servant,
“ JOHN ROBERTS.

“ P. S. For my part, Gentlemen, I am very desirous, if
“ you think it convenient, that an order be published by
“ beat of drum, for any person that can prove I have
“ wronged 'em to the vallue of a groat, I will make 'em a
“ round satisfaction: the same I'll do to any person that
“ can prove I have got a groat by 'em.”

with the circumstance that some of the members

The Governor and Council's answer.

“ SIR,

“ 3 October, 1711.

“ Your letter of the 24th September (by Mr. Thomlin-
“ son) we have received, and considered, and doe answer.

“ 'Tis doubtful to us whether it was the opinion of all
“ the commanders of last and this summer shipping that
“ demi-cannon be mounted at Munden's fort, since we can
“ no where finde any minutes taken by you and Councill
“ of such opinions ; and it appearing to us (upon very
“ good reasons we shall shortly have the honour to trans-
“ mitt to our Masters) that less guns will answer the same
“ end, shall mount but few, if any, demi-canon at that
“ fort ; and, as to the manner of mounting them, shall
“ take the quickest and cheapest method we are capable of ;
“ which, though it may be different from any projected
“ scheme of your's, we hope will not (for that reason) be
“ displeasing to our Masters. That work being in good
“ forwardness, hope, by the time you may be goeing off,
“ they may be most of them mounted. By the way, beg
“ you to take notice that fort is not in a condition to re-
“ ceive guns.

“ We shall, upon all occasions, readily accept your as-
“ sistance and advice for the interest of the Honourable
“ Company ; but beg you will never offer either but with
“ sinceritie.

“ Your scheme of additionall fortifications, when we see
“ them, shall have our opinions : as likewise what improve-

of Council had been prevented entering their

“ ments you designed to make on this island. Be pleased
“ to be assured none will receive projects of this kind with
“ more real satisfaction than ourselves; our intentions be-
“ ing very just towards their service who have done us the
“ honour to employ us.

“ As to the several cases mentioned in your's to be yet
“ undecided, as Hoskinson's, Alexander's, Edward's, &c.
“ we have and shall strictly follow the directions of the
“ Honourable Court of Directors given us; but must take
“ notice, by the by, that it was not possible for you to
“ know we had any instructions relating to the above men-
“ tioned, but by some of our Council, which remark we
“ must transmitt to our Masters.

“ We cannot readily guess what matters you may have
“ to offer for our Masters' interest which need be inter-
“ rupted by any delay in the affairs of those private per-
“ sons before mentioned; but there has been no delay on
“ our sides, and we wonder you do not know it. You
“ conclude with your offer of restitution and reparation for
“ all injuries done in your government, and we are willing
“ to have the whole island know it by beat of drum.

“ 'Tis the opinion of the Honourable Court of Directors
“ that in the seizure of Hoskinson's land you went too far,
“ and we are sure that you went yet further than they
“ ever knew; and if seizure of land be deemed lawfull in
“ his case, which was the extent of the penalty, you could
“ have no just excuse for destroying all his cattle, and
“ permitting his wife to be insulted; and further, had he

dissent to a groundless charge against him of

“ incurred the forfeiture of land (which, according to proof
“ in England, and he is much better able to prove it here,
“ he did not), how comes orphans' lands to be equally
“ liable, which he had but in trust: This we humbly pre-
“ sume is against the laws of England; but we hope, since
“ you have offered it, you'l make ample satisfaction to
“ both; and this being done, we shall have reason to be-
“ lieve you'l do the same wherever any further complaints
“ may be made*.

“ We are your loving friends.”

From Captain Roberts to the Governor and Council.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I desire the letter I carried to you myself, the 30th of
“ October last, which was an answer to your's of the same
“ month, may be sent home, or the copy, by this ship;
“ and since so little notice has been taken of that letter, I
“ think it needless to say more.

“ I am,

“ With respect to the Honourable Company,

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your humble servant,

“ JOHN ROBERTS.

“ On board the Mead frigatt,

“ Nov. 26, 1711.”

* For a very positive and decisive answer to this illiberal letter, read the extracts from the Company's letters to the Council, contained in the following note.

tyranny towards Hoskinson, did not escape the just indignation of the Company*.

* Extract from the Company's letter to the Council, dated 30th May, 1712:

“ If any of you dissent, let such dissent be entered in consultation, that we may judge of it who is in the right or wrong; and we expect, if any one of you offer to give his reasons in writing for his dissent, that all the rest shall not, by their votes, hinder his entering those reasons in consultation, or in the general letter, as we are told was very lately done, in the case of those who would not sign that groundless charge in your letter of the third of October, to Captain Roberts, that he had destroyed all Mr. Hoskinson's, &c. We call it groundless, because he denied it, and challenged you to prove he destroyed any one, which you never did.

“ We don't take it well that you never gave Captain Roberts an answer to his letter of the 30 of October, which is a letter of business, and looks to us that it was a letter of truth, because not contradicted, tho' the ship stayed a month longer: true it is Captain Boucher sent us what he calls an answer to it, dated 1st December, which appears more like contention about words, and is rather filled with the art and sophistry of the schools, than solid reasoning and plain argument.”

Extract from the Company's letter to the Council, dated 20th March, 1712:

“ That as to Mrs. Hoskinson's large letter of complaint, we can't see any reason to take notice of it; because,

Captain Boucher seems to have assumed the government with the intention of pursuing as opposite a line of conduct as possible to that of his predecessor; and accordingly we hear no more of sugar-works, the manufacture of wine, brandy, bricks, or tiles, or of fertilizing Prosperous Bay Plain. Without much economy in the management of such lands as were already in the Company's possession, he adopted a system of purchasing every plantation that was for sale, until the decreased number of land-holders be-

“ having examined Captain Roberts on every the articles
“ she complains against him for, he referred us to the letter
“ he wrote you the 30 October, wherein he denied the
“ then charge on this score, which was much of the same
“ nature with her letter, and challenged you to disprove
“ him in any one article; and by what appears to us you
“ never did, tho' Mr. Hoskinson was then living himself,
“ and sat as judge, as well as accuser, and Captain Roberts
“ stayed on the island above a month after; so that it ap-
“ pears to us to be an artfull calumny, with plausible
“ colours put upon it: this we say for the sake of the pen-
“ man who wrote her letter, and who also sent us what he
“ called an answer to that letter, wherein is no want of
“ hard reflections, but not a word of accusation of Mr.
“ Hoskinson, which, if true, would have afforded sufficient
“ matter for him to have harangued upon with his pen dipt
“ in vinegar and gall.”

came a subject of extreme anxiety and alarm*. The produce of the Company's farms was wasted by the most wanton extravagance, and a fine herd of deer totally extirpated. The Plantation-House gardens were laid waste, and thrown into pasture for the Governor's asses, of which he kept a numerous stud; and that he might take his favourite exercise of riding them in all weathers, a shed, of four hundred feet in length, was erected, at the Company's expense. The misconduct and bad management of this man were the more pernicious in their effects, as the island was, at the same period, suffering under the calamities of a dry season. Two thousand five hundred head of black cattle perished, for

* Extract from the Company's letter to the Governor and Council, dated 30 May, 1712:

“ We don't at all like that you have bought in so many
“ plantations, and thereby the severall familys have left
“ the island. We can't see what authority you had for so
“ doing, nor how those plantations will turn to better ac-
“ count in our hands than in the planter's: what can you
“ think will become of the island if we had it all in our
“ hands; it is against all policy to contribute to the de-
“ populating any place, as this naturally tends to: there
“ must be some secret reason for this, as that the people
“ can't quietly live, or the like, which makes them desire
“ to leave the place.”

want of food and water ; and to such extremities was the island reduced, that a plot was formed among the garrison to seize the persons of the Governor and Council, and to plunder the stores of all articles of provision. This conspiracy was happily detected in time to prevent its execution. A pretext was easily found for taking the flints from the firelocks of the suspected persons ; and, on the following morning, private orders were given for firing an alarm ; and the militia appearing in arms, gave so decided a superiority on the part of Government, the garrison being only one hundred and twenty in number, that the principal mutineers were secured and imprisoned, and, under the succeeding government, sent to Bencoolen at their own request.

The various fortifications which were in progress when Governor Roberts resigned the situation, were suffered by Captain Boucher to remain as he left them, excepting the Governor's apartments in the Castle, which were well fitted up ; but when he left the island, the house was stripped of almost every thing portable, even to the locks on the doors.

That he might lose no advantage in his private commercial projects, and ensure a ready

sale for his own commodities, he fixed such exorbitant prices on goods of a similar quality in the public stores, that the inhabitants were unable to purchase them; and he was no less unreasonable in fixing the price of those articles which he bought on the Company's account to serve his own friends.

It may seem extraordinary that these unwarrantable proceedings met with no opposition from the Council. The death of one member, and the sickness of another, afforded him a pretext for calling in two creatures of his own, to assist at the deliberations of the Board; so that he had little difficulty in carrying any of his unjustifiable schemes into execution.

After a government of three years, the Company gladly accepted Captain Boucher's resignation; when they ordered him to refund the money laid out in building his riding-house; and concluded some of their animadversions on his conduct with the words, “ Is this the surpassing “ your predecessors !”

On the 29th of June, 1714, Governor Boucher embarked for England, leaving the government in charge of Captain Matthew Bazett, who

was superseded, nine days after, by the arrival of Governor Pyke; and a new Council, in which Captain Bazett, in addition to the office of Store-keeper, was appointed to take his seat as fourth member.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE YEAR 1714, TO THE YEAR 1741.

Bad seasons.—Mischief by a water-spout.—Great sickness and mortality.—Planters' petition against ships touching at the Cape.—The system of numerous small farms preferred to few large ones.—Mr. Johnson's government.—He dies; and is succeeded by Mr. Byfield.—Captain Smith appointed Governor.—His oppressive conduct.—Is superseded by Mr. Byfield.—Attention to the preservation of wood.—Goats and sheep destroyed for ten years.—Goat ranges.—Mr. Byfield's good management and economy.—A party formed against him.—He resigns; and Mr. Pyke is appointed, a second time, to the government.—His arbitrary and illegal conduct.—Dies; and is succeeded by Mr. Goodwin.—Mr. Goodwin's death.—Mr. Crespe succeeds; and is superseded by Governor Jenkins.—Discovery of frauds.—Major Lambert appointed Governor.

GOVERNOR PYKE's attention was principally directed to the agricultural improvement of the island; but in this he had many obstacles to en-

counter, from blighting winds, a drought, and great mortality among both whites and blacks, in the year 1718. A deluge, in the following year, supposed to have been produced by the breaking of a water-spout over Sandy Bay Ridge, occasioned very serious and extensive damage. It washed away the mould from the mountains, filled up some of the plantations with stones and rubbish, and swept others entirely away. The sea for many miles around was discoloured with mud, many families were nearly ruined, and it required much industry to repair the mischief; but it was the operation of time alone that could restore to the hills their lost covering. A considerable importation of slaves took place during this government, to forward the plantations of yam; and Governor Roberts's hope of obviating the necessity of purchasing this article from individuals, became realized by its increased production, until subsequent bad seasons again compelled a recourse to the planters. Of the yam there were two sorts, one called the mountain yam, the other the wet yam. The latter is the same kind as at present grows on the island. Of the former species, none now remains. As it was reckoned a very unwholesome food in rainy seasons, its loss is little to be regretted; particularly since

the cultivation of potatoes has lately become so general. But even the other sort of yam was supposed to possess certain noxious qualities; and it was imagined that the effect of this diet was aggravated by an unhealthiness in the climate, and that the only antidote to these evils was a free use of spirituous liquors. Governor Pyke's observation on this subject appears in the following extract of a letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 19th of March, 1717:—

“ As an alteration of weather often happens
“ here in less than an hour's space, from sultry
“ heat to very cold, and the mountainy parts of
“ the country is not only windy, but always ex-
“ posed to great damps and fogs, even in the
“ times we call the dry seasons, we are apt to
“ think it easier to drink water for a constancy
“ in England than in this place. The physical
“ people we sometimes converse with (that is,
“ the ship surgeons) tell us, that strong liquor
“ is necessary to all people who have no other
“ bread but these watery roots (for a yam is
“ called the water-parsnip); and we also find it
“ so; wherefore, tho' we shall encourage tem-
“ perance and sobriety, as well by our example
“ as precept, yet it is in vain to dissuade the
“ use of arrack among these people, who pre-
“ fer it before the choicest wines.” The suc-

ceeding Governor, in his correspondence, expressed himself much to the same effect, and stated, that, as the rainy season was soon expected, fifteen legars of arrack had been purchased, to preserve the health of the inhabitants. But it seems that this liquor was deemed as necessary a medicine in dry as in wet seasons. This theory certainly favoured a practice which has been generally very prevalent; yet it may be doubted whether persons residing at St. Helena require a greater proportion of strong beverage than those in England; but that temperance is as requisite in the one country as the other, experience has placed beyond all question. It ought indeed to be remarked, that those who have attained the greatest age at St. Helena have been such as lived abstemiously, dined much on yam, and resided among the damps and fogs which Governor Pyke supposed were so prejudicial to the constitution.

During the drought, which is mentioned to have taken place in the year 1718, a very extraordinary and unprecedented instance occurred of a n.w. wind, which continued for three weeks, and, together with the dry season, was supposed to have been the cause of dangerous distempers, the nature of which the records do not state;

but it appears that out of five hundred and thirty whites, including the garrison, thirty died within six months ; and amongst three hundred and twenty blacks the mortality was in a still greater proportion. Even in healthy seasons, according to Governor Pyke's calculation, the annual decrease in the number of blacks newly imported was two in fifteen, and amongst those inured to the climate, one in ten*. To show

* Whether this calculation is applied to the slaves belonging to the Company, or to the general body of that class of persons on the island, is not positively expressed; but that it refers only to the former appears probable, by the two following extracts from the official correspondence.

Extract from the general letter, dated 22d February, 1716:—

“ We are told it was for want of care, and not a sufficiency of victuals, occasioned the loss of them” (the blacks); “ that the planters who have any regard for their blacks “ provide better, or they wou’d soon loose them.”

Extract from the general letter, dated 21st of March, 1717:—

“ Planters take great care of their slaves, and nurse “ them well, as remembering they live by their labour; “ and therefore a few of theirs do them more service than “ many of ours.”

N. B. It was calculated that the labour of one slave was capable of raising provision sufficient to feed four men.—
Const^t, May, 1719.

how far an opposite effect has been produced by the consequences of a mild system of jurisprudence, which divests slavery in St. Helena of every thing inhuman except the name, nothing more is necessary than to contrast the above calculation with the following fact. In the year 1792, the present code of slave laws was promulgated, by which the further importation of slaves was interdicted, the official returns in that year stated the number of blacks upon the island at 1501; and by the same document it appears that in the year 1805 they had increased to 1560.

It has already been mentioned, that, in the original distribution of lands, no more than forty acres, at the most, were allowed to one individual; but in the course of some years, by different transfers of property, many persons became possessed of large farms, containing from two to three hundred acres, contrary to the system of policy laid down by the Company. For although, after the insurrection in the year 1684, they proposed to maintain a sufficient regular force upon the island, in preference to a militia, yet this intention was never followed up; and, in reprobating the measures of Governor Boucher, which tended to depopulate the

island, they instructed Governor Pyke to adopt means of increasing the number of land-holders by preventing the growth of extensive farms, and by encouraging small ones. Leases were refused to those who could not occupy them in person, and several parts of the Company's un-enclosed lands were parcelled out in farms of twenty or thirty acres each, upon condition that the lessees should, within two years, erect a house on their respective premises; and to fulfil this condition, every reasonable aid was to be afforded on the part of Government. As the sale of supplies from one of these farms was calculated for little more than the maintenance of a single family, the lease was not permitted to be divided by will in small portions; but if its value was left among several, the land could only devolve to one, who was to pay the others as legatees; nor could it be disposed of to any who held above forty acres. Persons of this description were also rendered incapable of obtaining further grants or leases from the Company, unless it was evident, from local circumstances, that the ground they petitioned for could be of little use to others, or unless it was for the express purpose of planting trees; and to this use it was proposed, in the year 1733, that the greater part of the Company's waste lands

should be appropriated ; but the Court of Directors objected to this proposal, unless it met with the concurrence of the inhabitants, whom they were averse from depriving of their right to commonage.

Although the attention to promote the fertility of the island, and enable it to answer future demands, was highly necessary and proper, yet a pretty strong proof of its then abundant state is exhibited in a petition from the planters to the Court of Directors, praying that restrictions might be laid on the Company's ships touching at the Cape of Good Hope, where they took in sufficient refreshments to render a further supply at St. Helena unnecessary. The real motives of the commanders for adopting this practice were supposed to be commercial views of a private nature, and apprehensions that nothing could be obtained at the island, in consequence of the dry season in the year 1714. But one reason assigned was, that the St. Helena water was brackish ; an assertion not altogether void of foundation, as the stream in James's Valley, from which the ships at that time were supplied, became, in its progress, impregnated by several salt springs. This circumstance induced the construction of a crane and watering place at

Lemon Valley. It was also determined to obtain a stream from Chub's Spring, to preserve the purity of which a channel was cut above the aqueduct to receive the contents of the salt springs. These precautions answered for a few years, but it was at last found necessary to lay down the present pipes; and this was accordingly done in the year 1776. To the request of the planters the Court of Directors, with that attention to the welfare of the island which has ever distinguished their conduct, not only acceded, but inserted a clause in the charter-parties of their ships, obliging the commanders to purchase three hundred pounds of fresh beef for every twenty men composing their ships' companies. But another drought, which lasted from the year 1719 to 1723, deprived the inhabitants of the advantages proposed by this regulation, and reduced them to a state of famine. A recovery from so severe a calamity was followed by a renewal of the order, but the object of communicating general satisfaction to the inhabitants was far from being accomplished. Many of them complained, that from the time the ships were prohibited from touching at the Cape, they were obliged to receive goods at extravagant rates in exchange for the productions of the island; whereas, formerly, the com-

manders purchased their supplies with ready money.

A duty of twelve pence per gallon was levied, during this government, on all arrack imported, and of five per cent. on other goods landed on private account; but as the Company's stores were well supplied with almost every article in demand, the amount of customs seldom exceeded fifteen or twenty pounds per annum.

Governor Pyke has been very justly accused of arbitrary conduct in several instances, one of which appears in a reproof from the Court of Directors, for his injustice towards some soldiers, who alleged that he refused to discharge them after their contracted period of service had expired. These men, to escape his severity, left the island in an open boat, in which they reached Nevis, after performing a voyage of fourteen hundred and ninety-eight leagues. A charge against him of inattention to the comforts and wants of the slaves, is in some degree justified by his own calculation of their annual decrease. But he certainly restored the island from a most ruinous condition to as flourishing a state as could be expected, considering the difficulties he had to overcome. He formed the first safe road-way up the side of Ladder Hill.

On the whole, the Court of Directors were satisfied with his administration; he was transferred to Bencoolen, as Deputy-Governor, and was afterwards, a second time, appointed Governor of St. Helena. On the 13th of June, 1719, he was succeeded by Mr. Edward Johnson.

It had been the custom, ever since the recapture of the island in 1673, to annex a military commission, or title, to the office of Governor. Mr. Johnson was the first exception to this rule. Another alteration also took place, about the same period, in the abolition of the office of Deputy-Governor. The emoluments of the Council, and the separate functions of each member, were as follows:—

Governor Johnson, one hundred pounds salary, one hundred pounds gratuity.

Captain Bazett, second in Council, and Store-keeper, seventy pounds salary, thirty pounds gratuity.

Mr. Byfield, third ditto, and Superintendant to the plantations, sixty-five pounds salary, thirty pounds gratuity.

Mr. Tovey, fourth in Council, and Accomptant, fifty pounds salary, thirty pounds gratuity.

Captain Alexander, fifth ditto, and Secretary, forty pounds salary, ten pounds gratuity.

The barracks which Captain Roberts had commenced were not completed until eighteen months after Governor Johnson's arrival; they consisted of the mean looking range of buildings which form the side of the square opposite the Castle. He also constructed the wall from the landing-place to the draw-bridge, as a barrier against the surf; finished the warehouses which now compose the store-yard, and made some additions to the defences in James's Valley. But it is proper to mention one circumstance which detracts from his merits:—The inhabitants represented to the Council the injury the public sustained by the depredations committed by absconding blacks, and petitioned for a law to permit the offenders being punished at the discretion of their proprietors. To this proposal the Governor assented; though, from his having previously filled the office of a magistrate in England, he might have been expected to have understood the principles of the British Constitution too well to combine the accuser

and the judge in one person; especially as it was an order of the Company to adhere, as nearly as possible, to the spirit of the laws of England, in all cases where the St. Helena laws were silent. The Governor's acquiescence in such a measure is the more extraordinary, as his humanity appears evident from a complaint sent home against him, that his mild conduct towards the blacks would be likely to occasion an insurrection*.

Governor Johnson applied for leave to resign, and in consequence Captain John Smith was nominated to succeed him; but before this appointment took place, the death of Mr. Johnson, on the 16th of February, 1723, brought Mr. Edward Byfield, as senior member of Council, to the head of the Government. In this station he remained until the 28th of May following, when Captain Smith arrived from England.

This Governor was desirous of recommending himself as a moralist, and a reformer of manners, and was loud in his public declamations

* The circumstance particularly complained of was his having called the blacks his children.

against vice and debauchery. His endeavours might probably have been followed with success, had moderation, justice, a little Christian charity, and unsuspected integrity constituted any part of his character; and it would have been well if he could have excluded all appearances of private pique or resentment from his zeal for the suppression of immorality. But, unfortunately, many such declaimers as Governor Smith are insensible of the beam in their own eye, whilst the mote in their brother's is very clearly discerned.

Mr. Benjamin Hawkes, who had been sent out in both a civil and military capacity (the usual mode at that time), had an intrigue with the widow of a Mr. Tovey. For this offence he was cited before the Court of Judicature; and having, in reply to some animadversions of the Governor on his conduct, used language that was deemed threatening and impertinent, he was condemned to suffer imprisonment. Under this pretext also his papers were seized; and amongst them were found several copies of letters charging the Governor with malversation. The following sentence was in consequence passed on him:—"That he be degraded, and " rendered infamous, and incapable ever to

“ serve the Honourable Company, that his
“ sword be broke over his head, at the front of
“ the garrison, as unworthy to wear a sword or
“ bear a commission; that he afterwards stand
“ in the pillory from the hour of eleven till
“ twelve at noon; and that Margaret Tovey be
“ placed in the pillory by him, there to conti-
“ nue during the time aforesaid.” With such
rigour were the aiders and abettors of lewdness
punished, that the proprietor of the house in
which Mr. Hawkes and Mrs. Tovey had some-
times met was placed in the stocks, near two
years after the offence had been committed;
but it is necessary to state, that, on a former
occasion, he had been guilty of disrespect to the
Governor. To do full justice to Governor
Smith, it must be confessed that when personal
animosity did not constitute any motive for
action, his severity could relax, and his power
intervene to arrest the arm of the law, even in
favour of a murderer. The verdict of a coroner’s
inquest declared Martin Van Oesten, the ac-
countant, guilty of the wilful murder of his
black boy; but what was the amazement of the
settlement to find that the affair was hushed up
by this conscientious Governor, who punished
offences which, comparatively speaking, could
hardly be called crimes. Van Oesten was a

native of Holland, where he was supposed to have committed several murders, and, after robbing his father, fled on board a Dutch East-Indiaman. When he arrived at the Cape, on his homeward-bound voyage, fearing to re-visit his native country, he endeavoured to pass for an Englishman, and to enter as such on one of our Company's ships. His dialect, however, led the Captain to suspect the imposture; but Van Oesten attempted to remove suspicion by stating, that, from his long residence amongst the Hottentots and wild beasts, he had nearly forgotten the use of speech. Some time after he arrived, under the name of Breasy, at St. Helena, where he enlisted as a soldier, and distinguished himself by his abandoned and licentious course of life. But possessing some talents, and being tolerably versed in business, he rendered himself so useful as to be employed in a civil capacity, in which he was guilty of several frauds, and at last absconded from his creditors, to some of whom he was under the greatest obligations for pecuniary assistance at a time when he was sunk in poverty and wretchedness. The concurring testimony of several of his countrymen afforded further instances of the depravity of this monster. It appeared that he had drowned his sister, when an infant, in

order to acquire her property ; that he had afterwards boasted of this act, and gloried that “ there was no sort of wickedness under heaven “ that he had not committed.” He was also suspected of having poisoned his first wife. If this charge were true, he had been guilty of no less than five murders. Such was the wretch to whom the favour and protection of Governor Smith were extended.

The tyrant who had thus turned the pure stream of justice into a course of oppression, was determined that the slightest comments on the arbitrary power he had assumed should neither pass unnoticed, nor unrevenged. One of the inhabitants having declared in conversation that, according to private letters from England, a new Governor might probably be expected, the alarm of mutiny was immediately sounded, and the unfortunate news-monger exposed in the pillory. His words, however, were soon verified, for the Company gave orders for the supercession of Governor Smith by Mr. Byfield, who, on the 26th of February, 1727, a second time succeeded to the government.

It is unfortunate for the memory of Mr. Byfield that no protest, or dissent, appears in re-

cord in opposition to the tyrannical proceedings of Governor Smith; but, however deficient he might have been in his duty as a member of Council, his services as a Governor entitle him to a considerable share of praise.

Governor Roberts had done much towards checking the decrease of wood; but the best laws, if not enforced, are of as little avail as if they had never been enacted, and without compulsion few are inclined to exertion when the object tends to the advantage of public posterity rather than to immediate individual benefit. The planters alleged, that were they to portion off the tenth part of their lands for protecting trees, it would be impossible for them to pay their rents. So that whatever young wood might have been standing, or planted, was exposed to the trespass of cattle, sheep, and goats, whilst the wood of a mature age was daily cut down for building or fuel. All the hill between Long Wood, Flagstaff, and Halley's Mount, and from thence to the Alarm-House, had, within the recollection of several persons living in the year 1718, been an entire forest. The fruitfulness also of James's Valley, and all the adjacent parts, was much diminished by the destruction of the wood. In these, as well as

other situations where depredations had been committed on this invaluable article, the rain had made great ravages, as the soil was deprived of its adhesive quality by the want of that humidity which accompanies foliage and shade. Serious apprehensions were entertained that the evil might become general; and the island of Bermuda, and other parts of the world, were cited as instances to prove that countries highly fertile, when abounding with wood, were reduced to barrenness when deprived of such clothing.

The idea of fencing in Long Wood had been revived in the government of Captain Pyke, and the work was commenced by Governor Smith. In the year 1728, about one hundred and fifty acres were completely enclosed, sixty-four of which, on that part called Horse-Point, were appropriated to wood. The remainder was divided into three pastures, and was found, for nine months in the year, to be capable of maintaining the Company's whole stock of black cattle, which, by Mr. Byfield's care, was increased from about two hundred and ten head to nearly double that number. Much attention was also bestowed on the Company's other lands. The potatoes hitherto cultivated on the island were

of the red kind, and but little attended to after the prohibition of the distilleries. A crop of Irish potatoes was now planted, for the first time, in the valley called Long Gut, between Long Wood and Dead Wood. Five acres of the Plantation-House grounds were enclosed within a wall fence, and adopted as a nursery; and the red-wood, which had become nearly exterminated, was by this means preserved. Governor Byfield met with two young plants of it, which were moved into a proper situation, and protected till they produced sufficient seed to multiply their numbers.

The mischiefs resulting from the destruction of wood were, in some degree, counteracted by planting hedges of furze (a production probably introduced in Captain Pyke's government). The beneficial effects of this measure are felt at the present time, in the shelter afforded to the lands, and the acquisition of a stock of fuel which has probably prevented the total extirpation of the yet remaining trees. Annual surveys were ordered by Governor Byfield, on all lands, to ascertain whether the farmers were attentive in planting furze, and keeping up their fences and proportion of wood, as ordained by Captain Roberts's law. No defaulter escaped fine, ex-

cept in very particular cases. With such perseverance was this measure followed up, that the planters perceived that until the depredations committed by goats and sheep on the young plantations could be prevented, they must be perpetually liable to penalties. At a general meeting of the inhabitants, it was, after some deliberation, agreed, by a majority of fifty-one to eleven, that a law should be proposed to the Governor and Council, commanding the destruction of all the goats and sheep, for the period of ten years, to commence from the 1st of February, 1731, allowing them two years for reducing their flocks. This was an idea formerly suggested by Governor Roberts; but he was probably averse from enforcing its execution in opposition to the inclinations of the planters; and the difficulties that would have attended such a measure seem to have been foreseen by Mr. Byfield, who chose rather that the act should originate in the inhabitants themselves than in the Government. At this circumstance the Court of Directors expressed much satisfaction. The law was in consequence confirmed, and was followed by the expected success. The indigenous trees shot up spontaneously in great numbers. An inhabitant who died in the year 1805, at the age of eighty-three,

informed the author that many parts of the island where no trees had grown for many years before became covered with wood.

From the scanty patches of herbage on the heights contiguous to the sea, neither black cattle nor sheep, even had nature fitted them for traversing such craggy precipices, could derive much sustenance. But in those cliffs which in many parts are inaccessible to man, the goat finds excellent browsing, and thrives where other animals would perish. To obtain a good breed of these creatures became an object of very early attention. Orders were sent by the Company, to Bombay and Surat, to forward to St. Helena a proportion of ram and ewe goats on every homeward-bound ship, until a sufficient breeding stock was procured. But if by this it was intended to introduce a larger species, the measure would hardly appear necessary after what has been stated by the writer of Cavendishe's Voyage. The fecundity of the goats in a very few years multiplied their number to such a degree that they were regarded as wild animals, and hunted down by dogs and guns without restraint. This practice was interdicted in the year 1678, by proclamation; but masters of families and house-keepers were permitted,

on application to the Governor and Council, to appropriate flocks to their own use, and to maintain them on the parts of the Company's waste lands now called Goat Ranges; the Company reserving to themselves James's Valley and its vicinity for their own goats.

Before the destruction of the goats had been assented to and agreed on, it was stipulated, that those persons who had enjoyed the advantages of keeping flocks on the Company's waste land, should have the limits of the respective ranges defined, and registered, and, at the expiration of the ten years, the former indulgencies should be restored. What was, therefore, at first considered as an indulgence, was, upon that occasion, constituted a right. Laws were enacted which admitted and vested in certain persons, *the right of keeping goats on certain parts of the Company's waste land*. The land itself still remains in property to the Company. The value of this species of property depends on the safety or danger of the range, its extent, capability, and other local circumstances. The privilege of keeping one hundred goats in one situation will perhaps sell for one hundred pounds, whilst in another it is scarcely worth thirty pounds. The right in each range is gene-

rally possessed by two, three, or more proprietors, by whom stated days are fixed for impounding the goats; a task of difficulty and danger to any but those inured to it from childhood. A spectator, unaccustomed to the scenery and rural economy of the island, cannot but be struck with the singularity of a St. Helena goat-pounding. The eye, fearfully wandering over the abyss beneath, here and there catches a glance of the rill that murmurs at the foot of the declivity. On the opposite side a dreary rugged mountain is seen to rise stupendous; here and there a small patch of herbage is discernable, but the general appearance exhibits little more than huge impending rocks, and the apertures of caverns, which afford shelter to the nimble inhabitants of these wilds. The intervention of hanging clouds, which sometimes obscure the depth of the valley from sight, leaves the uncontrolled imagination to rove in the idea of unfathomable profundity. The blacks by whom the goats are impounded spread themselves on the outskirts of the range, to collect the stragglers, and impel them in a direction towards the pound, by loud shouts, and rolling down stones. The echoes resounding through the valleys and cliffs, in the midst of such rude scenery, has an effect truly romantic. After the

lapse of an hour, or more, detached flocks of a dozen goats, or upwards, are seen, like so many moving specks, followed by their hunters, who with cautious footsteps tread their dangerous way through ledges where a single slip would precipitate them to destruction. As they approach nearer to their place of destination, the different flocks unite into one; the goats move with a slower step, and the cries of the blacks are heard with quicker repetition and a shorter note, until, arriving near the entrance of the pound, the goats rush in with rapidity, and as many of them are taken as are required for use. Each proprietor has his respective mark cut in the animals' ears; and during the process of following the flocks, the blacks, by observing those kids that keep with their masters' ewes, are enabled to put on them their proper mark when impounded. Mistakes in this instance are rarely known to occur. It often happens that in driving the goats a few will break away, and effect their escape; but they are sometimes re-taken and secured by the celerity of their pursuers, who run among the ledges, and spring from rock to rock, on the brink of precipices that would justify a description such as Shakespeare has given of Dover Cliff. As many of the planters are as active and expert as the

blacks in this exercise, they are well calculated for the service of riflemen, a corps in which they are embodied. A range, called the Devil's Hole, on the s. w. side of the island, is so very steep and dangerous, that the proprietors seldom procure a goat from it without the aid of a fowling-piece. The following anecdotes are not inapplicable to the present subject, and will serve still further to point out the nature of the country.—About the year 1718, two of the Company's slaves, who preferred a free-booting life to that of labour and subjection to their overseers, made choice of a cave about half way up a steep acclivity, which terminates in a spiral rock called Lot, in Sandy Bay. From this strong hold their nocturnal sallies and depredations were carried on with success for several weeks; and even after their retreat was discovered, they stood a siege of three or four days, and repelled all attacks by rolling down stones on the assailants; until at last it was deemed requisite to send a party of soldiers to fire on them if they refused to surrender in twenty-four hours. The agility, however, of a young man, named Worrall, and two or three others, rendered this measure unnecessary. They went to the opposite side of the mountain, and clambered up until they gained a situation above the

cave, the mouth of which became thus exposed to the same mode of attack which had so effectually operated for its defence. When the freebooters approached the edge of the precipice to roll down stones, Worrall's discharge from above maimed one of them so much that the poor wretch died, and the other was much bruised. The recollection of this incident ought to give confidence to any party, however trifling in numbers, that may be posted for the defence of the difficult and dangerous passes which, in most parts of the island, form the only access into the interior.

In the year 1734, a sailor, on his return from the country, wandered among the cliffs at Ladder Hill, which overhang the sea, and found himself at last in a place where he could neither turn, nor sit down, nor discover any method of escape. In this perilous situation he remained until the following morning, when perceiving a party going to swim, he threw his shoes down to attract notice. He succeeded, and was soon relieved by the natives, who ventured within a few fathoms of him, and lowered down a rope, to which he fastened himself, and was hauled up.

To carry forward the defences, public build-

ings, plantations, and other works, which had long been in process, required more labour than the Company could supply either from the garrison or their own blacks. Recourse was, therefore, had to the slaves of individuals, the hire of whom afforded the chief maintenance of many families. On the succession of Mr. Byfield to the government, it was thought that this additional labour might be dispensed with, and the blacks thus employed were therefore discharged by orders from home. The consequence of a measure which thus deprived numbers of a considerable income, was a petition from the inhabitants to the Company, praying relief from the penury and distress to which they had been reduced. The Court of Directors, in reply, humanely ordered that half the rents, and the tax of ten shillings for each slave, should be remitted for five years. This indulgence was afterwards continued for five years longer (to alleviate the calamities occasioned by a dry season), and subsequently prolonged to the year 1745. The expenses of the island were reduced five thousand pounds in the first year of Mr. Byfield's government. But as the discharge of the blacks from the Company's works cannot be supposed to have been the sole cause of so great a reduction, much credit may fairly be ascribed

to the general good management of the Governor. His care and assiduity were indeed very conspicuous, particularly in the recovery of several bad debts, contracted by a practice that had long been tolerated, of giving credit without restraint for necessaries required by individuals from the Company's stores. When a person in indigent circumstances desired to make a purchase from one more wealthy, payment was often made by the poor man's becoming responsible for a part, or the whole, of the rich man's debt to the stores; so that by these kinds of transfers it was found that the Company became the creditors of such only as had scarcely the means of payment. This nefarious traffic was interdicted, in the year 1721, with an exception in favour of those who were in the Company's employment and pay.

During the four years in which Mr. Byfield filled the chair, his savings for the Company were calculated at twenty-five thousand five hundred and sixty-five pounds. Their sense of his merits was manifested by an addition of one hundred pounds to his salary, one hundred pounds worth of plate, and four hundred pounds in cash. The inhabitants also, about five months after their liberation from the galling yoke of

Captain Smith's tyranny, testified their acknowledgements in an address to Mr. Byfield for his equitable administration; and in the following year again took occasion to express their high sense of his just and indulgent disposition. But when the recollection of former sufferings and oppression had worn off, present blessings were undervalued, and discontents fomented against the man who, by general confession, had every claim to esteem and affection. This animosity appears in part to have originated from the Governor's attempting to support the cause of the poorer class of planters against the views of a few opulent land-holders, who desired to sell their beef to the ships at a rate below the established price. Many might also have been disappointed at his not sacrificing the Company's interest to obtain popularity; but, at all events, his enemies were determined, if possible, to procure his dismission. A powerful party was formed against him, and a deputation of two of its members sent home to lay their pretended grievances before the Court of Directors. Among a variety of complaints brought forward on that occasion, it was alleged, that the farmers were debarred the privilege of selling beef to the ships; and that they were prevented going on board for disposing and bartering their commo-

dities, although this was a right that had been granted to them by the Company. It was also affirmed, that they could not procure necessaries from the stores, but on condition of their purchasing articles, the property of some of the Council; that the Government sanctioned most exorbitant charges from the surgeon; and that the Governor, derived a clandestine profit of one thousand pounds per annum. It only required investigation to affix on these calumniators the obloquy they deserved. As an instance of the little regard they paid to truth, it appeared that half a crown was the total amount of what the surgeon had received from the inhabitants during his residence on the island. But can such an extraordinary instance of turpitude excite surprise, when the deplorable disadvantages under which the inhabitants laboured are for a moment taken into consideration. Many, if not the greater part, of the original settlers were of inferior rank; their offspring had no other religious or moral instruction than that which could be obtained within the circumscribed society of the island. Their spiritual teachers, far from inculcating sobriety, submission to the laws, mercy, charity, and other Christian virtues, were foremost in scenes of debauchery and infamy; and when it is con-

sidered that rebellion, revenge, hatred, and duplicity, blackened the character of the St. Helena chaplains for more than sixty years, might it not have been expected that both religion should be put out of countenance, and morality out of practice.

Governor Byfield, indignant at the injurious and ungrateful treatment he had received, retired from his situation in disgust; but whilst his enemies succeeded in driving him from the island, they were little aware of the punishment they had been preparing for themselves. Captain Pyke was a second time sent out as Governor, and arrived in March, 1731; but Mr. Byfield, by the Company's orders, kept the chair until the last moment of his departure, which happened in a few days. During this second administration of Governor Pyke, he fully justified the charge of arbitrary conduct, of which he was accused. The white inhabitants were ignominiously whipped and imprisoned for trivial offences. The military officers fined and suspended without courts martial. Though he severely punished several acts of wanton barbarity committed by the proprietors of slaves, yet some instances of horrid cruelty were unnoticed; and he gave full scope to his own ty-

ranny ; a detail of which would be improper and indelicate. One occurrence, however, cannot be passed over in silence.—A free black woman had a child by a soldier, for which offence, if such it could be called in an uninstructed, ignorant creature, hardly sensible that any moral guilt was attached to the act, she and her child were both consigned to slavery, under pretence that such was the law in some of his Majesty's plantations. This doctrine was worthy of the man who applied it ; but, as it was somewhat unprecedented to regulate the judicial proceedings of one country by the laws of another, and as Governor Pyke might, with equal propriety, use the torture to extort confession, because it was the law in some parts of Europe, he was judged unfit to be any longer trusted with the power he had so grossly abused. A number of similar acts induced the Court of Directors to dismiss him ; but prior to the receipt of their orders to this effect, his decease, which happened in July, 1738, had placed Mr. Goodwin, the senior member of Council, and a native of the island, at the head of the Government ; and in this station he was confirmed. The person next in rank at the Board was Mr. Duke Crispe, a man not deficient in talents, and possessed of no common share of knavery and cunning. He

had formerly been in the situation of Governor's Steward, from which he had been raised to a civil appointment, in the year 1726, and was afterwards promoted to a seat in Council. He never hesitated to concur in whatever censure was thrown on the conduct of his former masters and benefactors; he was concerned in trade with Governor Goodwin, had an entire influence over him, and was, in fact, the grand spring which regulated all the measures of Council. The Company's lands were disposed of for a tenth part of their value, the stores embezzled, the most infamous frauds committed by erasure and false entries, and the treasury robbed of nearly four thousand pounds. In the year 1739 he succeeded as provisional Governor, in consequence of Mr. Goodwin's death; but he had incautiously omitted to allow a due share of the plunder to G. Powel, one of his colleagues in Council, a man still more artful than himself, and equally devoid of principle. Powel turned informer, and had the address to conceal his real character. From the nature of the intelligence he secretly transmitted, it was judged proper that a person of integrity should be immediately sent out, with extraordinary powers, to investigate the charges, and even, if necessary, to supersede the Governor and Council. The

man selected for this service was Mr. Robert Jenkins, who had commanded a Scotch merchant ship, at the period when so many British subjects had suffered the most cruel indignities from the Spaniards, in consequence of the disputed right of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy. His ship was boarded by a Spanish guarda costa, on pretence of searching for counterband goods; Captain Jenkins was insulted, tortured, and had one of his ears torn off, which, upon his arrival in England, he exhibited at the bar of the House of Commons, and, being asked by a member what he thought and did when they mangled him, made that memorable reply, “I committed my soul to God, “ and my cause to my country.” The indignation excited at this circumstance seems to have hastened the war that soon after took place with Spain. He was afterwards commander of a ship in the Company’s service, and continued in that situation till he was appointed Supervisor of all the Company’s affairs at St. Helena. Under this title he embarked for the island, where he arrived in May, 1740, and, pursuant to his instructions, landed in the first boat, and immediately proceeded to the Castle, accompanied by Mr. John Godfrey, his assistant. Upon his announcing that he had charge of dispatches,

a Council was instantly assembled. He then opened his commission, summoned the chief Supercargoes, and Captains of the Company's ships then at the island, and in their presence demanded the keys of the treasury. The cash found, and counted on the spot, amounted to only six pounds sterling. Mr. Duke Crispe, the acting Governor, and the rest of the Council (with the exception of Mr. Powel), were declared to be no longer in the Company's service, and Mr. Jenkins assumed the government, and, in terms of the Company's instructions, formed a Council, consisting of two Supercargoes, in conjunction with Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Powel. A thorough investigation was instituted, and most ample proof adduced in support of the accusations made by Mr. Powel, who was in consequence made second in Council; and the estates of the guilty were seized to the extent of the Company's losses, which were calculated at six thousand two hundred and eighty-four pounds.

The Governor having executed his commission, Major Lambert arrived, as his successor, on the 22d of March, 1741, in the ship Harrington, of which Captain Jenkins was directed to assume the command for the remainder of

the voyage. In his station as a commander, his conduct became still further distinguished by a gallant action against a pirate, in which he preserved his own ship, and three others under his orders.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE YEAR 1741, TO THE YEAR 1788.

Death of Governor Lambert, and succession of Mr. Powel.—A detection of Mr. Powel's frauds and misdemeanors.—Is superseded by Governor Dunbar.—Experiments in the cultivation of corn.—Dissensions among the Council.—Mr. Hutchinson appointed Governor.—Unsuccessful attempt of a French squadron to capture the Company's ships as they approached St. Helena.—Increase of the establishment.—Exercise of martial law authorized by Act of Parliament.—Introduction of the British laws.—Prices of provisions, and necessaries from the Company's stores, reduced.—Acquisition of oaks, and other vegetable productions.—Mortality among the cattle.—Doctor Maskelyne and Mr. Waddington sent out to observe the transit of Venus.—Governor Hutchinson succeeded by Mr. Skottoe.—Long Wood fenced in.—Mr. Corneille appointed Governor.—A mutiny in the garrison.

MAJOR LAMBERT's government was terminated in about four months, by his death; but he had the merit of establishing the first regular

hospital, which was upon the site of the building now appropriated to that purpose. He was succeeded by George Gabriel Powel, senior member of Council, who, in a government of scarcely two years, completely developed his real character, and evinced that want of opportunity alone had prevented his being concerned in the frauds of which he had given information on a former occasion. His disgrace and dismission were the result of a conduct similar to that by which he had accomplished the supersession of Governor Crispe. On the 11th of March, 1743, Colonel Dunbar arrived, as Governor, with orders to inquire into his proceedings; and the investigation fully established the truth of the charges that had been privately transmitted against him. It was found that goods had been sold upon his account, which his own steward declared were the property of the Company. He had also obtained a lease for land, the letting of which to another tenant he had formerly opposed as extremely improper; and actually took possession of a goat-range belonging to the Company. Their farms had been appropriated to his own use, and their timber, lime, perbec-stone, and other materials, applied in constructing a commodious dwelling-house on his estate in the country. In

this undertaking their artificers and labourers were also employed, and their pay was charged in the account of fortifications, or other public works. The Company's blacks, after finishing their daily tasks, instead of being suffered to enjoy their necessary rest, were compelled to carry heavy loads from Sandy Bay and James's Valley, to forward the Governor's buildings; and if they did not return to their work before daylight the following morning, they were severely whipped. In consequence of this barbarous treatment, they seldom slept in a house, but lay upon the roads all night. The abilities of Mr. Powel were far from contemptible; but the talents with which nature had endowed him were all perverted by the depravity of his heart. An anecdote is related of him which displays an instance of cunning not unworthy of a member of the Inquisition. Two slaves (brothers) were brought prisoners before him; one for having absconded, the other for having supplied him with provisions during his absence. Against the first there was sufficient proof, but against the second none; as the former endured his punishment, denying that his brother had rendered him assistance, and the latter refused to confess the fact. The Governor, on this occasion, said to the Council, "Gentlemen, this

“ villain should be flogged severely. A wretch
“ who would not give his poor brother a morsel
“ when starving, deserves to be hanged.” This
declaration induced the intimidated creature to
acknowledge the charge, and the acknowledgement
was immediately followed by an inhuman
chastisement.

Incidents comparatively trivial, may sometimes throw as much light on characters as the most important facts ; and a degree of levity, as well as cruelty, is apparent in Mr. Powel's disposition, from his treatment of a poor man whom he had employed to make a wig for him, with the materials of which he was displeased, and in consequence ordered the unfortunate wig-maker into his own room, where he was placed on the back of a soldier, and whipped like a school-boy with fifty lashes.

Mr. Powel refused to make any defence to the various charges exhibited against him, and when required to settle his accounts with the Company, instead of complying, demanded a general receipt, and permission to go to England. But this was refused until the Company's claims were satisfied, or until he should give security to their full amount. To the latter

proposition he assented; and was allowed to go to England. From thence he proceeded to America, and was conspicuous as a patriot at Carolina, and, it is said, even became a member of Congress.

Governor Dunbar was unwearied in his exertions to watch over the resources and fertility of the island. Experiments in the cultivation of oats, barley, and wheat, at Long Wood, gave rise to such hopes of success, that a barn was erected there; but on a failure of subsequent crops, it was converted into a residence for the Lieutenant-Governor. This disappointment is supposed to have arisen either from drought, or some peculiarity of the climate or soil, and not, as has sometimes been asserted, from the depredations of rats: though it must be admitted that the ravages of these vermin are often attended with the most injurious consequences. In 1756 they barked the trees at Long Wood for food, and an incident occurred, in the year 1700, the authenticity of which might be doubted if it rested upon less respectable authority than the records. The rats are stated to have then attacked and devoured their own species; and the island was consequently nearly cleared of these animals. Among other improvements of

Governor Dunbar is to be included the planting of the avenue of Peipal trees in the middle of the valley leading to the hospital, by which it is so much ornamented and shaded. His extreme violence of temper, however, and his arbitrary disposition, involved him in repeated disputes with the Council. He highly resented the least opposition to his measures ; took upon himself to mulct some of the members, sometimes of a month's, and sometimes a quarter's salary, and suspended them at pleasure. During the course of these illegalities, Mr. Hutchinson, the Lieutenant-Governor, in whose person that office was revived, evinced a degree of temper, moderation, and propriety of conduct, highly to his credit. He was accordingly judged a more proper person to be intrusted with the government than Colonel Dunbar, who was directed, in a letter dated the 23d of December, 1746, to resign his charge to Mr. Hutchinson, or, in the event of his death or absence, to the senior military officer and secretary for the time being. These gentlemen were in such case appointed joint Commissioners for executing the functions of government; and, by a postscript to the same letter, they were ordered to compose the Council, to the exclusion of the other members, who had previously held seats at the Board ; but one

or two of these members were afterwards reinstated, though not till some time had elapsed.

About this period a plan was formed by the French Government for intercepting the East-India ships, by stationing cruisers in their track to the windward of St. Helena. L'Achille, of sixty-four guns, La Syrenne, of thirty-two, and La Zephyre, of thirty, were fitted out from Brest, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, in January, 1759. After there taking in a supply of stores and necessary refreshments, they proceeded to their station, which they reached early in March; and, in order to prevent the communication of any intelligence respecting them, obliged the commander of every neutral ship with which they spoke to enter into an engagement not to touch at the island: but they had not remained three days to windward before they were distinctly seen from the look-out posts, and during their cruise, which continued nearly three months, frequently approached within eight or nine leagues of the land. Upon their being first descried, a long boat was equipped, and placed under the command of Mr. Bendy, a midshipman of one of the Company's ships, who was instructed to get to windward of the French, for the purpose of inform-

ing the expected Indiamen of their danger. He was successful in gaining his station unperceived by the enemy; but shortly after observing them to leeward, he mistook them for English ships, bore down, and did not discover his error till it was too late. His capture was, of course, the consequence of this mistake. In the beginning of May, four of the Company's ships fell in with the cruisers, with whom three ships maintained an obstinate running fight for some time, but finding they could not get in without a great risk of being taken, they stood away for South America. A few days after, the French gave chase to two more of our Indiamen, who pursued the same course as the other four, and the six ships reached in safety the Bay of All Saints. They were soon followed, and blocked up by the enemy, who had quitted their station for want of water. In this extremity a long boat was decked, and properly fitted out to carry advices home of the situation in which the Company's ships were placed. The boat passed through the French men of war in the night, and was picked up, in great distress, by a New York sloop, one hundred and thirty leagues to the westward of Cape Clear. In the mean time the cruisers abandoned their blockade, and allowed our ships to proceed unmolested on their

voyage. Thus ended an enterprise, the failure of which seems to have discouraged the repetition of any systematic attempt of the same kind; for we cannot regard as such the casual cruise, for a day or two, of a single frigate or privateer, on their voyage towards Europe. The only British vessels known to be captured off the island by such cruisers were the *Rebecca* schooner, in the year 1782, and a whaler, in the year 1805.

As the trade and prosperity of the East-India Company increased, so the importance of St. Helena became more manifest, its security became an object of greater attention, and the respectability of the civil and military establishments gradually augmented. The two services were rendered more distinct and separate: in the civil department, a regular rule for promotion, and gradations of rank, was fixed*; and, from the year 1759, one or more seats at the Board have invariably been filled by senior civil servants. In fact, all members of Council, as such, are upon the *civil* not the *military* establishment; and, in support of this assertion, a

* General Letter from England, dated 7th January, 1742-3.

number of instances might be adduced; but the following extract from the official correspondence will suffice:—" Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, according to our orders, being admitted into the civil service, as a member of Council, covenants for him, as such, are transmitted for his execution *." The same rule applies to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, whose offices are *civil*, and entirely independent of whatever military commissions they may hold. It would be needless to digress upon a point so well established, if a contrary opinion had not of late been maintained; and if a custom allowed for eight or nine years, by which the senior military officer in James's Valley was regarded as the Governor's representative, in all respects, during his absence from the seat of government, had not gradually usurped the authority of a law. Some circumstances, however, having occurred that brought the subject under discussion, a reference was made to the Court of Directors. The decision of that Court fixed the system as it had previously stood; and, at present, the senior member of Council in town in the Governor's absence, is

* General Letter from England, the 17th of December, 1762, par^{ph} 59.

considered as his representative, in all respects, except the command of the military.

The garrison had formerly more the appearance of a militia, than of a regular military establishment. A number of the non-commissioned officers and privates occupied farms, which in a great measure engrossed their attention. Shortly after the re-appointment of Captain Pyke to the government, an increase of numbers appears to have occasioned the formation of a second company of infantry; and, in 1743, the garrison was augmented to four companies, besides the artillery. In consequence of the discharge of those who preferred the life of a planter to that of a soldier, military duties were conducted more conformably to the rules of discipline. The companies were commanded by officers of no higher rank than Lieutenants, until sixteen years after, when a Captain was appointed to each; but at St. Helena, as well as in other settlements belonging to the Company, it was impossible to maintain proper discipline without martial law; the exercise of which, though permitted by a former charter, had not been enforced at St. Helena since the time of Captain Roberts's government. Indeed, from the tenour of the charter, it would appear that military courts were admissible only

in case of actual attack, or of open rebellion. The propriety, therefore, of constantly governing the garrison by martial law, particularly in time of peace, was doubted; and an Act of Parliament was passed, in the twenty-seventh of George the Second, for punishing mutiny, desertion, and other military crimes, in a manner similar to that practised in his Majesty's armies. By this act the Court of Directors, through the medium of the Crown, is empowered to authorize the Governor and Council to appoint courts martial, and also to extend the same authority to the commanding officer of any detached party.

Besides the penalties to which officers on the St. Helena establishment are liable by the decision of a military court, they are subject to dismissal by the Governor and Council, without a court martial*; and, by the Act of Parlia-

* Extract from the Court of Directors' letter, dated the 19th of January, 1769:

“ That they (the officers) are not only to obey their superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of war, but are to be entirely subject to the orders of the Governor and Council, who are the Company's legal representatives; as likewise to such orders they may re-

ment of the 13th George the Third, for regulating the affairs of the East-India Company, the sentence of dismissal against any servant, civil or military, pronounced by the Governor and Council, can be revoked in no other manner than by a majority of three-fourths of the Directors, and the like majority of a special court of Proprietors. The Directors, in consequence, with that lenity so manifest in all their proceedings, have ordered, that *suspension from the service, until the Court of Directors' pleasure be known*, shall be the sentence of the Governor and Council, instead of *dismission*, unless the

“ receive from any of the Company's civil servants to whom
“ the Governor and Council shall think fit to delegate such
“ authority.

“ That as they are entirely subject to the authority of
“ the Company's civil representatives, so the Governor
“ and Council, upon the misbehavior of any officer, may,
“ whenever they think fit, take away such officers' com-
“ missions, without bringing him before a court martial,
“ according to the general practice of the service.

“ The intent of sending you the foregoing is not merely
“ with respect to the officers now appointed, but also to
“ remind you of the power you have always had, and it is
“ necessary should be kept up, in order to preserve that
“ authority over the military which is essentially necessary
“ for the good of the service.”

latter may be “ really necessary, or unless ca-
“ shered by a court martial ;” and the Act of
the twenty-seventh of George the Second renders
the Governor and Council amenable to the
Court of King’s Bench for any oppressive abuse
of their authority.

The partial spirit of the early laws of St. Helena, in which such distinction of colour was observed that a black was consigned to death for the same crime for which a white was only slightly punished, was too disgraceful in a British settlement to admit of its continuance ; and it is surprising that an error so enormous had prevailed for so long a period. A power vested in the Governor of trying causes, either by jury or before Council, according to his discretion, was frequently abused, in violation of the Company’s orders against depriving any persons of lands without the verdict of a jury. Unwarrantable fines were also, in many cases, imposed ; and policy, justice, and humanity, called aloud for a reform, which was hastened by the daring felonies, burglaries, and other serious crimes committed by both whites and blacks with impunity, for want of the powers to apply adequate punishments. Repeated representations on this subject by Governor Hutchinson induced the Court

of Directors to take it into their serious consideration. On consulting the most eminent law authorities, they were "satisfied that they had "a right by themselves, their ministers and officers, to govern the island of St. Helena, and "to hold courts of justice therein for trying all "kinds of crimes, offences, and misdemeanors, "and also for determining all civil actions." And, as the Governor and Council had hitherto acted as judges and magistrates, it was thought right that they should still continue to do so, without any further authority than what had been customary; and they were in consequence declared Judges of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery; which, upon this occasion, in the year 1762, were established, and have continued to the present period. The offices of Sheriff and Constable were at the same time instituted; but the Court of Directors disapproved of the proposal that a professional gentleman of the law should be sent out as Clerk of the Peace, enjoining the Governor and Council to discourage litigation as much as lay in their power. This wise admonition has been attended with the happiest effects; for, in general, no people are more averse to law-suits than the natives of St. Helena. The grand jury is usually composed of gentlemen in the civil and

military service, and the principal land free-holders. The petit jury generally consists of free and lease holders of an inferior class, and any Englishman at the island is liable to be impannelled as a juror. In fact, all judicial proceedings are now conducted very nearly in the same manner as in the English courts. The convictions, punishments, and determinations, are required to be conformable to the known laws and statutes of the British realm, or as nearly so as the nature and circumstances of the cases will admit. This rule, however, does not affect local laws, either criminal or civil, that had been, or might be, established, provided they were not repugnant to the spirit of the laws of England. Those crimes for which the British code condemns the offender to transportation, are punished at St. Helena either by burning the hand, or by whipping: the reason of this peculiarity must be obvious. Until the year 1787, the evidence of blacks, although deemed competent against persons of their own colour, was not admissible against whites. The consequence of so partial a system will appear by the following instances.—In the year 1785, Elizabeth Renton, a white inhabitant, in a fit of passion, stabbed one of her female slaves with a carving-knife; the slave died in a few moments.

The verdict of the coroner's inquest upon this occasion was wilful murder against Elizabeth Renton; and the grand jury, at the following quarter sessions, presented a bill of indictment to the same effect. Had her skin been as black as her heart, she would undoubtedly have suffered the penalty of the law; but as the only witness that could have sworn to the fact was a person of colour, who was not examined at the trial, because the evidence of blacks against whites was inadmissible, she escaped. In the following year, a planter, named Worrall, and his slave-man (*Yon*), were detected in the act of sheep-stealing: as the proofs against him rested upon the testimony of blacks, the white man could not be brought to trial, but the slave was convicted, and sentenced to *death*, notwithstanding he had acted under the coercion of his master. To have followed such a sentence with execution, would have been too flagrant an outrage against equity; but, as the authority for pardoning criminals is not expressed in the Company's charter, that power is one of the prerogatives of the Crown at St. Helena, as well as in England; *Yon* was therefore reprieved, and recommended to his Majesty's royal mercy, who was graciously pleased to extend it by sending out a free pardon.

The Court of Directors, anxious to prevent a continuance of such barbarous absurdities, submitted the subject to the consideration of the most eminent law authorities; and, in consequence of Recorder Adair's opinion on the case, the evidence of blacks against whites is now admissible in the same degree as against those of their own colour*.

Whether any degree of Admiralty jurisdiction be vested in the Governor and Council, is a point not positively ascertained. During the government of Mr. Skottowe, five Dutch prizes were taken, off the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1781, by the British squadron under Commodore George Johnson, who brought them into St. Helena, and made application to the Governor for a Court of Admiralty to be appointed for the condemnation of the prizes. To obviate every objection or doubt which might possibly arise against a compliance with the request, he engaged, on behalf of the captors,

* “ *In the same degree*,” but their evidence cannot be *universally* admitted, either against whites or those of their own colour. Much of this must rest with the discretion of the magistracy and the jury; as it may happen that individuals of this class are not sufficiently informed in religious obligation to understand the nature of an oath.

that, in whatever sentence the Court might pronounce, a clause should be inserted, " saving " the rights of all persons upon the nett pro- " duce, who might have any claim or claims " upon the said captures, and should lodge the " same claim or claims within three months " from the registration of the sentence before " the Court of Appeals in prize causes, esta- " blished in London."

The Governor having consulted the Council, and the charter being carefully examined, it was the opinion of the Board that there was no legal impediment to an acquiescence with the Commodore's application. The Lieutenant-Governor and two of the civil servants were, by virtue of a formal instrument from the Board, constituted Judges of the Admiralty Court on this occasion, and the prizes were condemned. To the official report transmitted on this subject no answer was returned; but it is understood that the cause underwent a second adjudication in England, where the sentence of condemnation was repealed.

How far the powers of the Council may extend in ecclesiastical cases, still remains a question. In some instances, certainly, they have

ever been accustomed to exercise part of the functions of that court, such as proving wills, and appointing administrators to the estates of persons dying intestate. But a case being presented for their decision, which had for its object the separation of a wife from bed and board, there was some degree of hesitation, from apprehensions of want of authority. The mutual consent, indeed, of the parties precluded the necessity of further deliberation on the question. It may be remarked, however, that, prior to the erection of the courts of Oyer and Terminer, the Governor and Council were expressly stated to be fully competent to administer justice within the island “ in all causes and “ matters whatsoever” betwixt party and party, except life, limb, or land (which required the assistance of a jury), and that the introduction of the forms used in the British courts was accompanied with a proviso that the local laws and customs of the island were not thereby to be superseded, unless they were contrary to the spirit of the laws of England. It appears, therefore, reasonable to conclude, that had the Council, in the case alluded to, after impartially weighing the evidences on both sides, pronounced a decree of separation from bed and board, in order to save a family from ruin, their

sentence would have been approved by the law authorities in England.

Among the reforms and improvements already noticed in the present chapter, it is proper to mention the increased degree of comfort and respectability attached to the Company's servants upon the island by an augmentation to their incomes. Governor Lambert was sent out with a salary of five hundred pounds per annum, and a proportionate addition was annexed to offices of inferior importance. Although, since Governor Poirier's appointment, persons below the rank of gentlemen had been excluded from the general table, yet the right enjoyed by all civil covenanted servants and military officers of constantly dining at the same table with the Governor, could not but be subversive of that respect so necessary to be preserved towards the person who presided over the settlement and all its official departments. In the year 1743, the general table was abolished, and, in its stead, an allowance, under the title of diet-money, was granted to those who had enjoyed the privilege of frequenting it. Two years previous to this change, regulations were adopted in the store-department, by which bread and flour were sold to the military at prime cost; clothing, and all

other stores, at ten per cent.; and to the inhabitants at forty per cent.

Governor Dunbar, in the year 1745, reduced the price of the salt provisions to two shillings per piece to the soldiers; this price was confirmed; and, in the year 1758, a similar reduction was made in favour of the officers and civil servants. Since this regulation, the price of salt provisions has been fixed at four pence per pound to all classes of persons on the island, except to non-commissioned officers and privates, who still receive it at the former rate. The privilege of purchasing all other articles in the stores at no greater advance than ten per cent. was extended, in the year 1772, to the planters and other persons not in the Company's service.

During the government of Mr. Hutchinson, the island was enriched with several valuable vegetable productions, highly conducive to ornament and to utility. About the year 1749, the Scotch and spruce fir were introduced, and some acorns sent out, from which trees have been produced that now measure from eight to eleven feet in circumference. But in the animal, as well as the vegetable kingdom, longevity

has been found to accompany tediousness of growth; and the rapidity with which the oaks of St. Helena have shot up, occasioned, in some of them, a very early decay*. But it is only in the most sheltered spots of the island that the oak attains perfection; in exposed situations, the trade-wind blowing continually in the same direction, produces very baneful effects upon this, as upon most other trees not indigenous to the soil. Those which receive least injury from this cause are the cypress and the pinaster†. A number of attempts to introduce the coffee-plant had failed; but Governor Hutchinson at last succeeded in this object, though he met with several disappointments, occasioned by severe drought, a calamity with which the island was observed to be afflicted once in every seven or eight years. Its distressing consequences

* This peculiarity in the growth of the oak induced Governor Patton to have several of them felled at the Government residence in the country; and the timber, on being worked up, has been found of a closer grain, and much harder, than the English oak: a quality rather singular in trees of quick growth.

† Of the former few now remain; but the successful endeavours of two Governors (Brooke and Patton) to propagate the latter, are likely to prove of much benefit to the island.

were increased in the years 1760, 1761, and 1762, by dreadful sickness among the cattle. The disorder is thus described in the *official correspondence* :—“ The cattle were first taken with “ a trembling, lost the use of their limbs, and “ the bowels contracted in a surprising manner, “ some of them have a swelling in their breasts, “ others, upon opening the intestines, are found “ quite decayed; all of them, after they are “ seized with this disorder, have a contraction “ in the bowels, and appear to be quite mad.” Various opinions were entertained as to the cause of the distemper. Some supposed it to arise from the multitude of insects propagated in the dry grass; while others imagined it proceeded from eating an herb called the canary-grass; but the latter opinion was proved to be erroneous. Every remedy that could be suggested on the island, as well as in England, proved unequal to stop the progress of this disorder, which did not abate till it had nearly destroyed all the cattle.

Whilst the little island, its politics, and domestic concerns, occupied the paternal attention of its proprietors, its situation attracted the notice of astronomers, as suited, in a particular instance, to promote science and nautical information. It was calculated, that upon the

6th of June, 1761, the planet Venus would pass over the sun's disk; and, in consequence of an application from the Royal Society to his Majesty, measures were adopted for observing the transit from the Pacific Ocean by Captain Cook, from Sumatra by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, and from St. Helena by Doctor Maskelyne and Mr. Waddington. The two last of these gentlemen having arrived at the island at the close of the preceding year, an observatory was constructed for their use upon a chosen eminence*, and every suitable accommodation afforded them, by orders from the Company; but upon the long-expected day, a passing cloud obscured the phenomenon from their sight, whilst it was distinctly seen by several persons in James's Valley.

During the eighteen years in which Mr. Hutchinson held the government, he fulfilled the trust reposed in him with such fidelity and discretion that the Court of Directors gave him notice of their intention to settle an annuity upon him of three hundred pounds a year, whenever he thought proper to leave the island. At the same time they desired that such intimation

* The ridge behind the Alarm-House.

might not be construed into a supposition that they wished him to resign: but this worthy man being then in the decline of life, and anxious to visit his native country, accepted with much gratitude the offered terms, and on the 10th of March, 1764, delivered over the government to Mr. Skottowe, the Lieutenant-Governor*.

Although the destruction of the goats for ten years had conduced very much to effect the desired object, yet such was the annual decrease of wood upon the island, that it once more became a subject of apprehension and alarm. The trees in Long Wood, in the year 1777, were supposed to be more in number than the rest of the island together contained; but, with the exception of those within Governor Byfield's enclosures, there was no likelihood of a succession to replace the trees that were cut down or decayed, as the young plants were continually nipped off by cattle, sheep, and goats. The subject ap-

* At this period the Council was composed of the following gentlemen:

John Skottowe, Esq. Governor.

Matthew Purling, Esq.

Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick:

And on the 6th of May, 1769, Daniel Corneille, Esq. arrived as Lieutenant-Governor.

peared of such importance to Governor Skot-towe and his Council, that they urgently recommended a substantial fence to be completed round the whole tract of land now called Long Wood, consisting of fifteen hundred acres, and they expressed hopes that an acquiescence to their proposal would, within a period of twenty years, prove the means of affording sufficient supplies of fuel even for the ships. They likewise urged the propriety of conveying water to that neighbourhood in leaden pipes, which would considerably enhance the value of a very large extent of pasture land, called Dead Wood. The estimated expense* of the latter proposal appeared to the Court of Directors to exceed its probable advantages; but they strongly approved of fencing in the Long Wood, and transmitted the most positive injunctions that the whole of the enclosure should be planted with trees of the quickest growth. In this view a number of plants of the Lombardy poplar were sent out; but as these failed, and as the gum-wood seemed to thrive best in that situation, all the vacant spots were afterwards filled with seedlings of those trees; and a large quantity of acorns have subsequently been sown, which came up ve-

* Five hundred and eighteen pounds.

markably well. The gum-wood, however, is the only kind of tree which now grows there, and the supplies of fuel from this quarter are so trifling, that the garrison baker is allowed eighty pounds a year to purchase wood from other parts of the island, although the expense of enclosing Long Wood has cost the Company about eight thousand pounds, independent of other charges on account of that estate. But even had the orders of the Company been carried completely into effect, it may nevertheless be questioned how far the promised advantages would have compensated for the diminution of the number of cattle which must have been the consequence of converting so large a tract of excellent pasturage into a plantation. Other less valuable spots might have been fixed on for planting wood, and trees would have undoubtedly grown on the same ground which had produced them but a few years before.

Governor Skottowe filled the chair eighteen years, to the satisfaction of his employers. During this period, the leaden pipes that now convey the water from Chub's Spring to the Wharf* were laid down; the church in James

* This distance is 2790 yards.

Town, and the officers' barracks, were also erected. On the 25th of July, 1782, he resigned the government to Mr. Corneille, and shortly after proceeded to England.

Towards the close of the year 1783, the tranquillity of the island was disagreeably interrupted by a mutiny of the troops. Nothing was more foreign from the apprehension of the inhabitants than an insurrection of this nature; it was an event that had not recently been experienced, and they had long been accustomed to peace and security. An idea had been adopted of putting the garrison under a mode of regimen, in regard to the use of spirits, analogous to the practice at Gibraltar. In consequence of this, the punch-houses (where they had apartments to meet in over their beverage, and could sing their song, and tell their story) were discontinued, and one house of rendezvous substituted for them, under the denomination of a canteen. Here there was no place for them to sit down, and each man was obliged to drink his allotted quantity at certain hours, and depart immediately; and this humiliation they alleged they were compelled to submit to, while the blacks were allowed to regale themselves in the public-houses without restriction. They took

offence, too, at some supposed partiality in the distribution of flour, and other articles usually issued as an extra allowance at the time of Christmas. But, whatever sentiments or misconceptions they harboured on the score of grievances, it was evident their resentment arose from a sense of indignity or degradation, not from a sense of hardship, from scarcity of necessaries, or severity of discipline. Though the leaders of the mutiny had probably something further in view than the mere redress of grievances, it does not appear they had formed any regular or deep concerted plan to subvert the community. The spirit of discontent, however, having generally diffused itself, at last broke forth in a manner highly alarming and dangerous.

The ill humour of the men first discovered itself on the day before Christmas, when they thought proper to refuse the usual allowances. This temper of mind being represented by some of the officers to the Governor, he voluntarily enlarged every man's ratio or proportion. On Friday, the 26th, a riotous body of them assembled under arms, complaining of their grievances. This tumult was, for the time, appeased by the Governor, who personally engaged to take their

complaints into consideration, and to give them redress and satisfaction. On the 27th in the afternoon, having consumed the quantity of spirits that was issued for them, they became turbulent in the street, and clamorous for more, and applied to the Captain of the week for that purpose. He, not thinking proper to take this upon himself, prevailed upon them to be quiet until he had signified their demands to the Governor. His answer not proving satisfactory, they armed themselves in the Barrack Square, in the afternoon, and marched out with drums beating and fixed bayonets. They formed a body of upwards of two hundred men, with a serjeant (Tooley) at their head. Their aim was to gain the post on Ladder Hill, where there were field-pieces, mortars, and various ammunition, and where they would have entire command of the town below. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor (Major Grame), on their way down Ladder Hill from the country, perceived them in motion from the barracks, and had just time to arrive in town before they reached the foot of the hill. The Governor seeing the impending danger, took the immediate resolution to follow them. Having consulted with, and given orders to, Major Grame, with no other attendant than his groom, he

threw himself amongst them, and endeavoured by persuasion to bring them back to their duty. The measure was bold and spirited, and it succeeded; he spoke to them with temper and firmness, soothed them by promising to remove their grievances, and added a general forgiveness for the step they had taken. Influenced by what he said, they returned the field-pieces which they had drawn out and loaded, and marched down again with the Governor in their front. But their subjugation was by no means apparent: a gentleman who had followed the Governor to the top of Ladder Hill, and was much respected by them, endeavoured, by talking with them individually, to reason them into submission. The spirit of defection was, however, too strongly betrayed, both by their words and the sullen expression of their features; a circumstance which struck him the more, as he perceived the majority of them were perfectly sober. Observing on their way down that Major Grame was bringing cannon up the Parade, they halted, shouldered, and faced to the valley, nor did they resume their march till the Governor sent instructions to withdraw the cannon, and the word of command was given by Tooley.

The Governor, however, notwithstanding

these symptoms, flattered himself that he had appeased them, and that their confidence in him would ensure a peaceable and submissive conduct for the future; and relying on these convictions, he returned the same evening to the country. But the majority of the inhabitants were not so tranquil. They dreaded the violence of such an assembly under arms; and Major Grame, alarmed not only by the mutinous conduct already mentioned, but by the insolent messages sent him by the garrison that night and the ensuing morning, advised the Governor to take certain military measures of prevention against a recurrence of such tumults. The Governor, however, declined agreeing to this proposition, on the ground that it would excite the jealousy of the men, and make them suspect he did not mean to keep terms with them.

On Monday, the 29th, the Council removed the principal grievance that was complained of, viz. the canteen; and directed the punch-houses to be opened on their former footing, allowing to them what was thought a sufficient quantity of spirits for the daily consumption of the garrison. The soldiers having finished this portion about five in the afternoon, again became riotous, and in a high tone of insolence demanded more

liquor. Several of the officers who mixed among them endeavoured in vain to quell and compose them. The Governor now discovered that he had depended too far, and had thus prevented the aid of any immediate resource or remedy. The men on the main guard were almost equally to be suspected with those that were rioting in the street, as many of them had been concerned in the disturbance of Saturday. These, however, engaged to stand by him; and having secured Tooley, and made him prisoner, he marched up the street at their head. Before this the rioters had betaken themselves to the barracks, to get their arms; and learning that the Governor was advancing with the main guard, they rushed out, and marched off with a design to take possession of the Alarm-House. Some men who had a sense of their duty, and others who were restrained by the presence of the officers, marched down with Major Bazett to join the Governor. At this period the Governor desired Major Grame to go up the side-path after a small party before detached, and endeavour to gain the Alarm-House before the mutineers. Major Grame, with that ardour and alacrity for which he was remarkable, instantly mounted his horse, and rode off. The small party which he overtook could not keep up with

him, being out of breath from the quick ascent of the hill. The mutineers had gained the advantage of the road by marching from the barracks directly up the side of the hill; and Major Grame had no other chance of reaching singly before them the Alarm-House, but by pushing on along the narrow, steep, but shorter, path, called the Saddle, that leads along the ridge. This he hazarded, and accomplished with imminent danger; for while he rode along this path the mutineers were very near him, had him fairly in view from the main road underneath, and fired repeated shots at him. It was dark when he reached the Alarm-House; where, with the six men of the guard, he discharged five rounds of the field-pieces at the mutineers as they approached. He did them, however, no injury, as they threw themselves down on the application of the port fires, and an intervening swell of the ground gave them shelter from the grape. Major Grame remained at the post till he was nearly surrounded, and with difficulty made his escape. A party of the mutineers pursued him for a considerable distance, firing at him several times. About ten at night, after making a long circuit, he returned to James's Valley, to the great satisfaction of his friends.

Shortly after Major Grame left the town, the Governor detached Major Bazett, with three officers and about seventy men, in pursuit of the mutineers. Major Bazett, finding they had gained possession of the Alarm-House, thought it best, instead of advancing up the open hill, to make a detour, and attack them from the ridge that descends to the back of that post. The mutineers, who were now under the command of a Serjeant Burnet, as successor to Tooley, had drawn out the field-pieces in different directions, and placed some to range along this ridge, expecting Major Bazett from that quarter. When Major Bazett and his party came in view, which was not till he was very near them, they discharged their field-piece; but without effect, from its too great elevation. The party instantly rushed on, seized the field-piece, and scattered those who had charge of it. An irregular discharge of musketry took place on both sides for ten or twelve minutes, when the mutineers gave way, and took refuge in the Alarm-House. Two of Major Bazett's men were killed, three of the adverse party wounded, and one hundred and three taken prisoners. This, however, was by no means the whole number that had taken up arms, for many of them escap-

ed under cover of the night, and mixed undiscovered with the Governor's party. Ninety-nine of the prisoners were condemned to death, by the sentence of a general court martial; but, as the execution of so many men was deemed too sanguinary a proceeding, Serjeant Burnet only and nine others suffered death, and the rest were forgiven*.

It is not easy to express the fears and confusion that prevailed among the inhabitants during these transactions. The various rumours that were circulated, the uncertainty respecting the success of Major Bazett, and the fate of Major Grame, kept them in suspense for several hours. The Governor remained in town, and made every arrangement for their defence (in case of Major Bazett's failure) that the unprepared state and the doubtful faith of many of his party would admit.

It tended, perhaps, to ensure the future safety of the island that the question was brought to the decision of arms, for the seditious characters

* Serjeant Tooley was shortly afterwards sent off the island, in a packet bound for England, which, on her passage, was wrecked off Scilly, and every soul on board perished.

among the troops were thus discovered, and sent away; and the exemplary punishments inflicted on the delinquents, struck a terror into others, and gave prospect of security against similar disturbances.

From the history of these proceedings it may be perceived, that though lenity and indulgence frequently conduce rather to aggravate than to sooth symptoms of discontent, and that though the strictest administration of justice is necessary to the support of government and the peace of society; yet, that, in the exercise of coercion, and in the reform of abuses, it is highly important to guard against trivial and vexatious innovations; it is the part of prudence to consider what species of feeling is the most alive to attack, to touch tenderly what is easily irritated, and to estimate the extent of human endurance.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE YEAR 1788, TO THE YEAR 1806.

Arrival of Governor Brooke.—New measures.—Reform in the slave laws.—Expedition planned against the Cape of Good Hope.—Capture of nine Dutch East-Indiamen.—Succours sent from St. Helena to the Cape.—Governor Brooke proceeds to England; and leaves the government in charge of Lieutenant-Governor Robson.—Arrival of Governor Patton.—Conclusion.

GOVERNOR CORNEILLE having requested permission to resign, Robert Brooke, Esq. was appointed his successor. Mr. Brooke had been in the Company's service at Bengal, where his military talents and conduct, and his inflexible integrity, had been frequently and importantly called into action, and this claim on their individual esteem was further increased by his enter-

prising and patriotic exertions for the benefit of his native country *.

* As the present state of Ireland (the native country of Mr. Brooke) has lately excited so much interest, and given birth to so many various events, the author is tempted to present to the reader the following extract, as a proof of the benefit a nation may derive from the efforts of a single individual.

“ Extract from the Report of a Committee of the Irish
“ Parliament, upon a petition of Robert Brooke, Esq.
“ of the town of Prosperous, in the county of Kildare.

“ 1st. Resolved, That it appears to this Committee that
“ the cotton manufacture was introduced into the king-
“ dom, upon an enlarged scale, by Robert Brooke; who,
“ after surmounting all the difficulties of its infancy, has at
“ length established it at Prosperous, in a most perfect and
“ extensive manner.

“ 4thly. Resolved, That it appears to this Committee,
“ that the cotton-works of Prosperous employ nearly seven
“ thousand persons; and that a very great number of child-
“ ren and young people are now training up there to in-
“ dustry and beneficial manufacture.

“ 10thly. Resolved, That it appears to this Committee,
“ that it was a great and spirited undertaking of the said
“ Robert Brooke, when possessed of an easy, competent
“ fortune, to hazard the whole of it in attempting to secure
“ to this country a manufacture of such great importance
“ to its future prosperity; and that he deserves the protec-
“ tion and assistance of Parliament.”

At the same period, Major Robson, formerly a Captain on the Madras establishment, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor; he arrived in the ship Chesterfield, on the 11th of May, 1788, and the following day Governor Brooke landed from the Francis. Although Mr. Brooke was sworn in as Governor before his departure from England, he only acted as Lieutenant-Governor till Mr. Corneille left the island (about a month after), when the new commission of government was opened, appointing Robert Brooke, Esq. Governor, Major Francis Robson Lieutenant-Governor, and Matthew Bazett and Williard Wrangham, Esqrs. members of Council.

To whatever causes the late mutiny in the garrison might be traced, it certainly did not proceed from want of frequent and severe corporeal punishment. Governor Brooke, desirous of rousing that sense of shame which had been extinguished by a repeated application of the lash, allowed stripes, in lesser offences, to be commuted for labour; but so deeply depraved were some of the delinquents, that they refused the alternative, and preferred flogging, to which by custom they had become familiarized. A reformation, however, of such mental degradation was not despaired of by the Governor.

They were separated from their comrades under the designation of the *miscreants' mess*, the worst provisions were allotted to them, and the many deprivations and marks of odium that they thus incurred, soon placed them in a contemptible and mortifying light in the eyes of their brother-soldiers. This circumstance produced greater effect than the lashes that had formerly been inflicted. Their earnest entreaty to be relieved from so irksome a situation was, after much apparent difficulty, complied with; and from that period there has never been occasion to renew the establishment of a *miscreants' mess*. By the labour obtained in this manner, tracts of waste ground, offensive to the eye, and receptacles of filth, were converted into a handsome parade for the soldiers, and into gardens, highly ornamental to the town, and beneficial to the hospital. But more solid advantages than the acquisition of gardens or parades were gained by the decency and order that became manifest in the garrison, the improved appearance of which was observed by every passing stranger who had an opportunity of contrasting it with its former state. Light-infantry manœuvres and sham-fights formed a source of recreation and military instruction both to officers and privates, with which until then they had been unacquainted.

Recruits to keep the garrison strength had formerly been procured with difficulty, as none were enlisted, except those sent out immediately from England; but numbers of discharged soldiers, returning from India, perfectly restored to health on the passage to St. Helena, now offered with alacrity to renew their time of service. Thus an accession of above nine hundred men was, at different times, obtained during this government; which, with the recruits received from England, enabled the Governor to forward drafts to India, amounting, at different periods, to the number of twelve hundred and ten men, all of them disciplined soldiers, prepared for a hot country by a seasoning in the medium climate of St. Helena*. The military establishment at

* As circumstances connected with this government, it may not be irrelevant to the subject to lay before the reader the following extracts:—

Extract of a letter from Marquis Cornwallis to Governor Brooke:

“ I have been favored with your letter, dated the 11th
“ April, and am truly sensible of the earnest and meritori-
“ ous zeal with which you have been actuated in preparing
“ and embarking for the service of this country so con-
“ siderable a part of the force of your island.”

St. Helena had been on a very confined scale from the first settlement of the island. At the

Extract from the Honourable Court of Directors' General Letter to St. Helena, dated 29th February, 1792 :

“ Our advices from Madras communicated to us the
“ pleasing intelligence that the detachment you embarked
“ on the Alfred had arrived in excellent condition, and at
“ a very seasonable period. Impressed as we are with the
“ merits of Governor Brooke, in this instance we cannot
“ forbear repeating our approbation of the exertions he has
“ evinced in effecting this measure.”

The two following extracts are taken from a letter written to Governor Brooke, from head-quarters, Choultry Plain (near Madras), dated 14th Sept. 1796 :

“ SIR,

“ I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the
“ 12 July. The party of two hundred and fifty men,
“ which you sent on board the Canton, arrived here in
“ high health and excellent order, and have proved a timely
“ and valuable recruit; upwards of seventy were drafted
“ into the artillery, and Colonel Geels (who commands
“ that corps) reports very favorably of them. I hope the
“ party you propose embarking on the Boddam will soon
“ reach us.”

“ I shall pay every attention to the officers who came
“ here in charge of the detachment; their conduct in pre-
“ serving regularity and discipline deserves my appro-
“ bation.”

commencement of Mr. 'Brooke's government, it consisted of four companies of infantry and one of artillery; and as the transfer of officers from one Company's settlement to another is not admitted, the promotion of those at St. Helena was, of course, very slow. The Governor, in his correspondence with the Honourable Court of Directors, urged the propriety of increasing the strength of the garrison; and, in the year 1796, it was augmented to a battalion of infantry and a strong corps of artillery. An unprecedented promotion was the necessary consequence; and those who entered the service with no higher expectations than of obtaining a Captain's commission, now beheld the rank of a field-officer within their reach, and new spirits and animation were diffused throughout the garrison.

The errors in the system of defence, noticed in the third chapter, had not escaped the observation of either Governor Lambert or Major Rennell; but nothing to remedy the evil had been effected until Governor Brooke determined to apply those principles for the security of the island which had so successfully distinguished his military career in a part of India where the face of the country was, in some respects, simi-

lar to St. Helena. In this view, positions were chosen on the heights, and at different passes and defiles; the field-pieces and mortars were removed from improper situations to posts where they could be brought to act with more effect. But as these measures were novel, doubts were entertained in the island respecting their propriety; and their further prosecution was ordered by the Court of Directors to be suspended until General Sir Archibald Campbell, who was then expected on his return from India, should inspect, and report his opinion, both on the works which had already been constructed, and on those in contemplation. On his arrival, he minutely surveyed what had been done; and, upon the occasion of a general alarm, which happened during his stay, he had an opportunity of observing the dispositions made to repel an expected attack: the change of system received his decided approbation, as it did afterwards that of Marquis Cornwallis. But Sir Archibald lamented that a too rigid regard to economy had considerably cramped the plans of the Governor.

The only mode hitherto practised of announcing the approach of ships to the island was by firing guns, after which all further particulars

were transmitted by men who had to run a distance of, perhaps, seven or eight miles. In place of this dilatory and inconvenient channel of communication, a code of signals was substituted ; which, though not very comprehensive, yet, it is needless to say, was an improvement of the utmost importance.

The scheme of conducting water from the Plantation-House to Ladder-Hill was considered wild and chimerical, until, by the perseverance of the Governor, a stream was carried thither in an open drain, and was of material use in forwarding works there. By a similar operation, a current of water was conveyed from the springs between Halley's Mount and Diana's Peak to Long Wood, and proved the means of preserving a large stock of the Company's cattle during a very severe drought.

The dangers attending the tremendous surfs which dash against the shores of St. Helena were much aggravated by the want of a safe landing-place in rough weather ; and as there was but one crane, much delay and inconvenience were experienced by the ships. To obviate these evils, Governor Brooke projected a plan for prolonging the wharf to a jutting rock,

where he had observed that the fishermen could often land when the common landing-place at the stairs was impracticable. This plan he accomplished after some difficulty; and thus an additional crane and landing-place were obtained, which can almost at all times be approached with safety, not a life having been lost there since their construction; though, prior to that period, serious accidents were frequent.

As the introduction of the British system of jurisprudence was not intended to extend further than the nature of existing circumstances on the island should admit, the relative situations of master and slave were consequently not affected. But as no special laws had been framed for the protection of slaves, too much power certainly remained in the hands of their proprietors; and though it might not be abused by humane masters, which in justice must be allowed was the character of the greater part, yet the records sufficiently evince that all did not come under that description. Incidents of unwarrantable severity, or improper treatment, received immediate redress from the Governor, and the aggressors were fined in a manner that had not hitherto been customary. But as it is better to prevent evils than to be necessitated to

apply a remedy, it was judged eligible to limit the authority of the master, and extend that of the magistrate; and a code of laws was accordingly drawn out for the government and protection of slaves, which was submitted to the consideration of the Honourable Court of Directors. Though the Court did not approve of the system in all its parts, yet they established a set of laws nearly similar to those proposed by Governor Brooke. By this code a master is allowed to punish his slave with twelve lashes; but if he conceives the fault to call for more severe correction, a magistrate must be appealed to, who, with the concurrence of the Governor, awards such chastisement as may appear expedient. If a master exceeds his powers, he is liable to a prosecution by his slave before the justices; and, on the other hand, a frivolous or unfounded complaint, on the part of the slave, incurs a punishment at the discretion of the magistrates. By this code also the further importation of slaves was interdicted*.

The Governor's exertions to promote the natural resources of the island, and the encouragement he afforded to industry and private im-

* See Appendix, I.

provement, were attended with great success. Several tracts of waste land were fenced in, and rendered valuable; and the advantages resulting from the conveyance of water in the channels he had cut for that purpose, excited and directed the attention of individuals to the same object. Within the first two years of his government, the stock of black cattle augmented from two thousand two hundred and two, to two thousand five hundred and four; of sheep, from two thousand three hundred, to two thousand three hundred and eighty-eight; and the amount of sales to the ships, of cattle, sheep, hogs, fowls, vegetables, and fruits, from four thousand five hundred and twenty-four pounds three shillings and seven pence, to six thousand six hundred and seventy-two pounds six shillings and eight pence. The extension of the potatoe plantations, which also took place in his government, has been the means of affording the most ample supplies of that article to the ships; and the prospect of increasing wealth, which stimulated the exertions of the planters, occasioned the erection of several comfortable and handsome dwellings.

The situation of St. Helena suggested to the Governor the plan of forming an establishment

connected with the South Whale-fishery. He proposed that there should be a dépôt on the island, where the ships employed in the fishery should bring their cargoes, and unload them there, which would relieve them from the necessity of returning so frequently to Europe. The cargoes thus deposited were to be carried home in the ships employed to bring out the annual supplies.

The Court declined any active co-operation in the execution of this proposal, but willingly consented to grant to any individual who chose to embark in the trade, whatever advantages the island could supply. The subject has, in consequence, been under the contemplation of some respectable merchants; and it is only the expense which must be incurred in constructing the necessary buildings that has as yet suspended the execution of the project. It is common, however, for the vessels employed in the whale-fishery to touch at the island for refreshment and health; and, of late, when all the other ports in these latitudes have been closed against them, the number of these visitors has, of course, much increased. The attentions which they received from Governor Brooke induced the principal merchants employed in this trade to present him

with a handsome piece of plate, in testimony of their respect.

The Honourable Court of Directors, as a mark of their approbation of Governor Brooke's conduct and services, were pleased to increase his salary to one thousand pounds per annum, and conferred on him a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, and afterwards of Colonel, with the pay annexed to that rank.

In the month of May, 1795, his Majesty's ship *Sceptre* arrived at the island, as a convoy for the homeward-bound fleet, and brought intelligence that Holland had been overrun by the armies of France, and that the Dutch would inevitably be compelled to join in the war against England. A project instantly occurred to the zealous and active mind of the Governor, of making an effort to secure the Cape of Good Hope before this information should reach that colony. It was understood that barracks had been prepared there for the reception of some British troops, as a reinforcement to the garrison; a circumstance that would have given plausibility to the measure of taking a force thither upon the plea that an immediate attack was to be apprehended from the French. The

Governor had good information respecting the state of the colony and the disposition of part of its garrison. He had long been in the habits of correspondence with Colonel Gordon (the Commandant of the troops), a man whose principles were suspected by the republican party as being too favourable to the British interest; and Mr. Pringle, who had recently arrived from the Cape, where he had resided as Company's agent, was enabled to afford several essential points of intelligence. This gentleman concurred with the Governor that the project was practicable; and Captain Essington, of the Sceptre, being decidedly of the same opinion, agreed to co-operate in the undertaking. The proposal was then laid before the Council, and was immediately followed by their assent. Three hundred picked men were in consequence embarked on board the Sceptre, and the Company's ships the General Goddard, Manship, and a small fast-sailing vessel called the Orpheus, which were lightened of part of their cargoes, and strengthened by additional men. A corps of volunteer seamen were also selected from the other ships, and placed under the command of Captain Price, of the Lord Hawkesbury, so that with the marines and seamen from the Sceptre, a force of about six hundred men was collected to act on shore.

This little armament, the military part of which was headed by Governor Brooke, and the naval commanded by Captain Essington, weighed anchor, on the 1st of June, in the hope of gaining possession, by stratagem, of the castle at the Cape of Good Hope, and holding it till a reinforcement should arrive; but on the following morning they fell in with the Swallow packet from the Cape, and an hour or two after the Arniston store-ship, from England, made her appearance. By this, intelligence was received that the expedition was anticipated by a force sent out under Sir George Elphinstone and General Craig. It was understood, however, that a valuable homeward-bound fleet, of near twenty sail, was on the eve of departure from the Cape when the Swallow sailed; and the offensive operations at St. Helena became directed to this object. The Sceptre and the rest of the squadron having returned to their anchorage, Captain Essington made a request to the Governor that some of the Company's ships might be put under his orders, to assist him in intercepting the expected fleet, as the Sceptre alone might be inadequate to effect it. The Manship, the General Goddard, and the Swallow, were therefore placed under his command, together with the troops that had been previously em-

barked on those ships for the expedition; a company of artillery was also ordered to remain on board the Sceptre, and the squadron weighed anchor and stood to windward on the 3rd of June, whilst the utmost exertions were used for preparing the Asia, Lord Hawkesbury, Essex, Airy Castle, and Busbridge, to join them. On this occasion, not only every spare warehouse, but even the church, was filled with goods unladen from the ships, that they might in all points be rendered efficient for the service they were intended to perform. Independent of the serious responsibility which the Governor thus incurred, his proceedings were in opposition to the formal protests of all the commanders of the Company's ships employed on the occasion. But his own security had no weight in the balance against the cause of his country and his employers, and he resolutely persisted in the undertaking, which in its consequences involved the annihilation of the Dutch East-India Company.

The Lord Hawkesbury, in the attempt to weather the island, split her sails, and was forced to return to port: the Essex also sprung her fore-top-mast; but the Busbridge soon effected a junction with the commodore. On the

10th of June, one of the expected fleet, called the Hughley, fell in with the squadron, and was sent into the Roads, accompanied by the Swallow, which ship immediately returned back to her station with a number of additional seamen to reinforce the fleet. A great deal of blowing weather, however, occasioned a separation of the Manship and Busbridge; and the General Goddard and Swallow were in consequence the only ships left with the Sceptre. From these three ships, on the afternoon of the 14th of June, were despatched seven sail on the weather bow, steering down before the wind. The Goddard's signal was made to keep her wind, while the Sceptre and Swallow stood athwart the course of the fleet in sight, through which the Goddard passed about one A. M., and was fired at, without returning a shot. At day-break the following morning, the fleet was still on the starboard bow of the Sceptre and Swallow, and at seven A. M. displayed Dutch colours, whilst their commodore fired a gun to leeward. This was repeated by the Sceptre, and Captain Essington supposed it would be followed by their heaving to, but in this he was mistaken, nor was it even effected by three shots fired a-head of the van ship. A signal was therefore made to the Goddard to *bring the chace down to the Sceptre.*

The Goddard almost instantaneously appeared under a cloud of canvas, and was laid along side the Dutch commodore, who, from her imposing appearance, and high state of discipline, concluded her to be nothing less than a frigate, and in consequence submitted to Captain Monney's directions to bear down; but by this time the Dutch Captains had given their crews such intoxicating draughts of spirituous liquors that they became ripe for repelling force by force, and several shots were fired between the masts of the Sceptre, as well as at the boats, which were sent with boarding parties. A few rounds, however, from the Sceptre showed the inefficacy of resistance, and the Asia and Busbridge at the same time heaving in sight, the seven Dutch ships were taken possession of without the loss of a single life, and came to anchor in St. Helena Roads on the night of the 17th of June. As a means for securing the remainder of the Dutch fleet, Governor Brooke lost no time in dispatching the Echo, a fast sailing ship, for England, with such intelligence as might enable the Admiralty to adopt measures for their interception; and he had afterwards the satisfaction of hearing that his information had produced the desired effect. The Sceptre, with her convoy and the prizes, sailed for England on the 1st of July, and on the fol-

lowing day another Dutch ship was secured in the Roads.

Soon after these occurrences his Majesty's ship Sphynx arrived with dispatches from Admiral Sir George Elphinstone and General Craig. Affairs at the Cape were not at that time in a promising state. The attempt to obtain possession of the colony by negociation was unsuccessful, and our little army there was inadequate to effect it by force. By these dispatches, therefore, the General represented to Governor Brooke that no augmentation could be "so inconsiderable as not to be acceptable;" he also stated, that "he had not a single gun, " nor an artillery-man with him," and requested that a couple of six-pounders and a howitzer, with ammunition, might be forwarded. The necessity was likewise urged for a supply of specie. Not a moment was lost in putting on board the Arniston nine pieces of field ordnance, a complete company of artillery, and three of infantry, amounting in the whole to three hundred and ninety-three men, all trained to field-piece practice, with ten thousand pounds in cash, and a supply of ammunition and salt provisions.

Governor Brooke on this occasion had the high honour of being noticed by the approbation of his Sovereign, contained in a letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, of which the following is a copy :

“ Horse-Guards, 30th Oct. 1795.

“ I have received, and laid before the King,
“ your letters of the 13 of July and 12 of Sep-
“ tember last, with their enclosures ; and it is
“ with peculiar satisfaction that I obey his Ma-
“ jesty’s commands in communicating to you,
“ by opportunity of the Dart packet, his Majes-
“ ty’s perfect approbation of the zeal and ala-
“ crity you have manifested on every occurrence
“ interesting to this country, in the course of
“ the present war, and particularly of your
“ judicious and spirited proceedings since you
“ received the intelligence of the invasion of the
“ United Provinces by the enemy.

“ The measures taken by you for securing
“ the Dutch East-Indiamen which touched at
“ St. Helena, and the intelligence you have
“ transmitted respecting the remainder of those
“ ships, merit great commendation ; and your
“ exertions in forwarding to Admiral Sir George
“ Keith Elphinstone and General Craig, at the

“Cape, the succours of money, men, ordnance,
“and stores, at a time when a speedy supply
“of those articles was become so essentially
“necessary, will, I trust, be attended with the
“most beneficial consequences to the interest
“of this kingdom, and of the East-India Com-
“pany; and I cannot indulge in this pleasing
“expectation, without feeling that it has been
“so materially improved by your unremitting
“vigilance and care to promote that important
“service.

“I have, &c.

(Signed)

“HENRY DUNDAS.”

“To Governor BROOKE.”

The Honourable Court of Directors also, fully aware of the importance of Governor Brooke's services, were pleased to signify their approbation in their General Letter to St. Helena, dated 5th January, 1796, of which the following are extracts:

“We feel infinite satisfaction at the perusal
“of the proceedings referred to in this para-
“graph. The zeal and alacrity with which the
“intended expedition to the Cape was planned,

“ and in part carried into execution, deserve our
“ warmest commendation, and your records do
“ not furnish (to our recollection), since the
“ island has been in the Company’s possession,
“ an instance where this little settlement has
“ been so eminently useful.”

“ It would be injustice to withhold from
“ Governor Brooke the praise so justly due to
“ him for the promptitude which he manifested
“ in planning, and carrying into execution, the
“ intended expedition. In our review of his
“ conduct throughout this arduous service, we
“ find it equally deserving our approbation in
“ the alacrity he first manifested in heading the
“ detachment in person; the zeal he afterwards
“ evinced in furnishing supplies to Sir George
“ Keith Elphinstone and General Craig far ex-
“ ceeding their expectations. These active,
“ zealous, and meritorious exertions in our Go-
“ vernor in forwarding the public service, de-
“ mand our warmest thanks.”

As so considerable a part of the St. Helena troops was spared to assist in the reduction of the Cape, a more than ordinary degree of alertness was necessarily required from the remainder of the garrison, particularly as they had to

guard about three hundred prisoners (including Malays), taken out of the Dutch ships, for whom there was no proper place of confinement. The militia, however, cheerfully bore a share in the fatigue; and between seventy and eighty of the prisoners, who were found to be Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, and were desirous of changing masters, enlisted in the Company's service. The Malays also considered their capture by the English as a release from slavery; and readily agreed to take an oath of fidelity, and enter the British service. They were accordingly incorporated into two companies, and trained to artillery practice. They proved extremely useful; and, during the two years which they remained on the island, were no less conspicuous for their discipline than for their peaceable conduct. But this may certainly be attributed to the peculiar manner in which they were treated. No European was suffered to strike or chastise them on any pretence whatever; and they were punished by no other authority than the sentence of a court martial, composed of Malay officers. If the author's information be correct, they were afterwards sent from Bencoolen to Ceylon, and a Malay regiment engrafted on the two companies. Those measures, together with a further acquisition of

recruits, and the return of the detachment from the Cape, augmented the force of the garrison to a number far exceeding its strength at any former period.

The many services rendered by Governor Brooke to the Company and the nation, impressed upon Marquis Wellesley, the then Governor-General of India, so lively a sense of his merits, that he could not forbear manifesting his sentiments by a distinguished mark of his approbation; and the Honourable Henry Wellesley was commissioned by his noble brother to present a sword to Colonel Brooke; which was accordingly done on the 11th of November, 1799, at the head of the garrison at St. Helena*.

* Colonel Brooke received a letter from Lord Mornington, dated Fort St. George, the 13th of August, of which the following is an extract:

“ SIR,

“ My brother, who carries my dispatches to England, “ will have the honour of delivering this letter to you. He “ will also, by my direction, present you with a sword “ taken in the palace of Seringapatam, which I request you “ to accept of as a testimony of my esteem.

“ I have, &c.”

After fifteen years of anxious toil, a severe illness obliged Governor Brooke to return to Europe; and upon the 16th of March, 1800, he left the island, very sincerely and generally regretted. Upon his departure, the government devolved on Lieutenant-Governor Robson, who filled the chair until the arrival, in March, the following year, of Colonel Patton*.

Colonel Patton had been formerly on the

The Honourable H. Wellesley, upon this occasion, delivered the following address from himself:

“ COLONEL BROOKE,

“ I am directed by the Governor-General to present this
“ sword to you, with a request that you will accept it as a
“ testimony of his esteem, and of his high sense of your
“ zealous exertions, on all occasions where the public in-
“ terests are concerned.

“ Lord Mornington is particularly desirous that you
“ should know how highly he approves and admires the
“ zeal, energy, and spirit, which prompted you to forward
“ pecuniary supplies to India at a moment which appeared
“ to you to demand such aid. I cannot omit this oppor-
“ tunity of testifying the satisfaction which I feel at pre-
“ senting this memorial to you of a conquest not less ad-
“ vantageous to the interest of the nation than it is honour-
“ able to the British character in India.”

* The author of the *Principles of Asiatic Monarchies*.

Bengal establishment, where he filled the situation of Military Secretary successively under General Smith, Governor Cartier, and Governor Hastings.

Among the essential improvements of Governor Patton is to be included the establishment of telegraphs, of a very simple and cheap construction, invented by himself: the advantages and security obtained by such a system are incalculable. To the ordnance department much of his attention has been directed; the nature of the country at once points out the importance of rendering the guns on the heights completely effective, which was accomplished by some material alterations in the construction of their carriages. These alterations now afford the means of firing hot and cold shot, at any required degree of depression, with a facility and accuracy that has astonished every military character who has lately witnessed the St. Helena artillery practice. Four men are enabled to work a two-and-thirty pounder with almost twice the expedition and precision that could be formerly effected by seven, and a greater disposable force is consequently acquired. With this means of defence every spot is now supplied where a man can possibly effect a landing

and ascend the heights; and the interior defensive measures that have been adopted are much approved by the highest professional characters who have had opportunities of inspecting them.

It has very lately been discovered that the volcanic production, called Terra Puzzolana, abounds at St. Helena, particularly about James's Valley, and the adjacent parts of the sea coast. This substance, it is understood, derives its name from a place in Italy, where it was found in abundance, from the same cause which has produced it at St. Helena. Its properties are, to form, in conjunction with lime, a cement remarkably retentive of water; in contact with which it acquires the solidity of rock. A discovery so important has enabled Governor Patton to construct aqueducts in a permanent manner, and to exhibit certain and economical means of rendering the most important advantages to the island. And should his services in his present situation be extended beyond the period necessary for accomplishing plans of greater moment, it is not impossible but that Governor Roberts's idea of fertilizing Prosperous Bay Plain may be realized. The reservoirs which he has proposed, and in part

carried into execution, for the supply of water to dry situations on the island, might be constructed, at a very small expense; and nothing is more wanted than such advantages for the general improvement and fertilization *.

* Extract from Governor Patton's minutes, entered on Consultation, 20th October, 1806:

“ Having made repeated trials with the Puzzolana and “ lime conjoined with gravel, I am assured and confident “ in the effect to be produced, the combination becoming, “ in contact with the water, like a consolidated rock, im- “ pervious to every thing; a channel formed with it will, “ therefore, prove an invaluable acquisition. It so hap- “ pens, most fortunately for the island, that the fabrica- “ tion of such a channel is much more easy, and even “ cheaper, than those which have been formed of clay. I “ am now in the process of making one which will convey “ every drop of the water from the Highwell cistern in a “ pure undiminished current, to the Ladder Hill post, “ giving a supply as it passes to the intended Block-house “ above it. About two hundred yards of this channel is “ completed, which enables me to form a judgement of the “ expense. To one bushel of lime I put about a bushel “ and a half of Puzzolana, and about a bushel of gravel. “ The lime is previously beat up with water, and then the “ other articles are added to it, and the whole completely “ mixed together for immediate use, which is always re- “ commended. Along the side of the hill, a level track, “ like a path, being cut about two feet broad, and the bot- “ tom consolidated by ramming, a layer of Puzzolana com-

The Governor has also endeavoured to promote the propagation of wood. For this purpose, instead of having recourse to penalties, which have hitherto been employed with little effect, he has procured from the Court of Directors a regulation entitling each proprietor to a renewal of his lease, on the terms of his existing tenure, provided he has reared to a certain height a specified number of trees. These trees he may raise upon any part of his ground, and the number to be so cultivated is to be in proportion to the extent of the land which he occupies.

“ position with lime and gravel, is spread to the thickness
“ of an inch and the width of a foot, regulated by a frame
“ constructed for the purpose. This forms a bed, upon
“ which two bricks on edge, or the Highwell stone, cut to
“ that form and size, are placed within three inches of each
“ other, being jointed with Puzzolana and lime, to form a
“ channel for the water: but after it has been framed in
“ this manner, the interior of the channel is coated over
“ with plaster, or mortar, of Puzzolana and lime, as a
“ finishing; the channel is then covered by slate, bedded
“ and jointed with this composition, so that the channel is
“ every where impervious. This aqueduct is supported on
“ each side, to the breadth of the path, by an inclosure,
“ formed of earth, mortar, and stone; and the whole being
“ covered with turf and earth, to the thickness of a foot
“ over the channel, is rendered sufficiently secure against
“ external injury of every kind.”

About twenty-five years prior to Colonel Patton's government, the blackberry plant was introduced on the island. This production, so useful in other countries when placed in hedge-rows, has, however, produced consequences at St. Helena as unexpected as they are alarming. The climate and soil of this island are so congenial to the growth of the blackberry, that it has overspread large tracts of the best pasture lands; its devastations are annually multiplying, and the subject has excited so much apprehension, that the Honourable Court of Directors have strongly recommended its extirpation. The grand jury, at the quarter sessions, in July, 1806, represented the evil as requiring the immediate attention of Government: every exertion from individuals had proved inadequate to this purpose, as the necessary labours for their husbandry and farms required the full employment of all their hands. The Governor therefore proposed, that a part of the garrison should be allotted to this special duty, commencing where the evil was most prevalent, to be regularly relieved, and the undertaking prosecuted until it was subdued; Mr. Porteous, as Superintendent of Improvements, being intrusted with the direction, under the instructions of a committee. A specific pay to the men, and a gra-

tuity to the superintendent, to be paid by the proprietors of the land ; who were afterwards to be bound to keep their possessions clear from this destructive plant.

The operation had begun with a part of the Company's land, and some progress was made, when attention became necessary to the defences of the island, which interrupted the undertaking; but it will be resumed as soon as a working party for this purpose can be spared, and it promises ultimate success, under the vigilance and perseverance of so active a superintendent. At present this seems to be the only possible mode of overcoming this evil; especially since the working hands of the island have been so much diminished. What the admission of Chinamen or Lascars might accomplish, in case the Company adopted that expedient, can only be conjectured.

Whilst these objects have been forwarded by the personal exertions and superintendence of the Governor, in a manner which has excited the surprise of both islanders and strangers, other points of importance have not escaped his attention. The establishment of proper checks, in different departments, has been followed with

due effects, and approved of by the Honourable Court of Directors. Most of the Company's buildings in James's Valley were formerly roofed with a layer of mud spread upon boards*, a species of covering which required a large quantity of solid timber for its support, was liable to continual decay, and the layer of mud continually out of repair, and harbouring rats and other vermin. To remedy so defective and expensive a system, the staves of the empty flour and meat casks, which had heretofore been used as fuel, are now converted into shingles; in a roof composed of these materials, very little wood is required for its frame, and its durability is known to exceed the period of a century.

Governor Patton's endeavours to improve the morals of the black inhabitants have been noticed in the introductory chapter; but the author cannot forbear again adverting to a subject of so much importance. The experience of about four years now affords acknowledged proof of the efficacy of the laudable exertions;

* That a roof composed of such materials should be impervious to water, has been frequently the subject of surprise, but the mystery has been unveiled by the discovery that the Terra Puzzolana abounds in the island, and is intermingled with the earth used for this purpose.

the happy consequences, therefore, which may be expected to result from a steady perseverance in the system, are obvious, and cannot be too seriously pressed upon the attention of succeeding Governors. To render this more certain, the Company's subscription has been increased to fifty pounds, and the privilege of recommending slaves requires that the proprietor should contribute to a certain specified amount. It is most devoutly to be hoped that the praise-worthy spirit which induced the inhabitants to assist in maintaining the fund appropriated for annual rewards to meritorious slaves, may not be repressed, and the progress of so promising an institution defeated.

The nature of the author's situation on the St. Helena establishment, and his unwillingness to press on the feelings of Colonel Patton, induce him to withhold a more circumstantial detail on these subjects. It will be sufficient, therefore, to observe, that, during the whole time he has presided on the island, he has evinced a most active solicitude in discharging the various duties of his station. Candour and justice must acknowledge his unceasing mental and personal exertions, rendered valuable and meritorious by their character and importance,

by his extensive information and liberal endowments, and by a happy ardour of mind that takes an interest in every thing which bears relation to the service and welfare of the public.

Having thus brought this historical sketch to a close, the author cannot refrain from adverting to some points nearly connected with the subject of the preceding pages.

It is painful to observe that this island has been always disturbed by factions; and that the best Governors have been the most obnoxious to their attacks. Mr. Roberts, the happy effects of whose exertions are felt to this day, was so cruelly persecuted by insidious misrepresentations, circulated at home, that he appears to have resigned his situation in disgust. The spirit of insubordination at the island must, among other causes, be attributed, in no small degree, to a general want of principle; which, in its turn, seems to have been chiefly owing to the conduct and character of the clergy. Many of the chaplains, as has been already seen, have

been notoriously profligate and turbulent; and it is worthy of remark, that at those periods when the people have been most dissolute, they were under the care of pastors most unworthy of their profession. It is not surprising that such men should be even actively hostile to government; and the consequences of this disunion may be imagined. On the other hand, the advantages which a just Governor may derive from the assistance of a virtuous clergyman may be seen from the effects of the friendship between Governor Roberts and the Reverend Mr. Tomlinson. The circumstances alluded to only enforce the necessity of peculiar care in the selection of chaplains for the island.

Loud complaints are made in St. Helena of the deficiency of labouring population, and the high price of labour. It is certainly true, that the deficiency complained of exists, and equally so that it does at present check the progress of cultivation, the improvement of the pasture lands, the propagation of trees, and the comfort and neatness of the farmers' dwellings. Attention, therefore, ought to be paid to this circumstance; the evil is pressing, and requires immediate relief.

It may possibly be said, that the evils arising from a dearth of hands has a tendency to correct itself; that the high price of wages acts as a bounty on the increase of population; and that labour will not long be wanting where it meets with such encouragement.

But this general principle will not apply to St. Helena. The natural increase of population is always slow, and, in the case before us, peculiarly so, because the stimulus supplied by high wages not only acts partially, but, even where it acts at all, acts, for the most part, at disadvantage. The slaves, who form the majority of the population, are exempt from its influence; whether they work for their masters, or are hired out to the planters, it is the masters alone who are benefited, in the one case by their labour, in the other by the price of their labour. It is not, therefore, likely that this class of inhabitants will be much roused by a motive which can hardly in any way affect them. The whites and free blacks, however, may be supposed completely open to its power; but in the case of the free blacks it acts indeed most feebly, in consequence of the promiscuous intercourse to which they are accustomed. The prospect of any adequate supply from this source must be ex-

tremely remote. The introduction of new settlers would, then, as it seems, be the only method of supplying labour; and this would undoubtedly have taken place, without any compulsion, were not St. Helena, in this respect also, singularly situated. No strangers are allowed to enter, or settle in the island, without the permission of the East-India Company. This regulation is warranted by sound motives of policy, but, indispensable as it is, has tended to check those efforts which would naturally have been made to fill up the deficiencies of the population.

Besides these considerations, another circumstance should not be overlooked: though the promotion of the pasturage and cultivation of the island ought to be the first object, yet the general bias of Europeans who have become inhabitants, is, to employ their capital (however small it may be) in mercantile concerns. The reason of this is another peculiarity in the situation of St. Helena. Provisions are furnished from England and the East-Indies; and the quantity of them imported by the Government is regulated by the probable demand. Besides this stock, there are other supplies brought by the various vessels that touch there. Money,

therefore, will always command provisions ; and money itself is most readily obtained by mercantile pursuits. The profuse habits of those who have acquired fortunes in India are infallibly brought into exercise: as this is commonly the first land which they reach after a passage of three months, it is not a little curious to observe with what eagerness they seem to seize the opportunity to disburthen themselves of their wealth. The price of European articles is, on these occasions, raised to an exorbitant height. Even the most paltry shopkeeper does not fail to derive some profit from his goods; and fortunes are frequently made, which, in the scale of that island, may be called considerable. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that a pursuit so tempting in its returns, and recommended as well by the comparative indolence which it allows as by the convivial habits which it encourages, should be preferred to the more laborious, but less lucrative, and less sociable, employment of husbandry.

From these remarks it follows that some steps should immediately be taken to ensure an increase of the number of labourers ; and for this purpose it might, perhaps, be advisable to recur to a principle adopted in the Company's early

orders of offering encouragement for soldiers who have served their contracted time to become husbandmen*. Many of them, if permitted to remain, would willingly become farmers' servants, at the wages of thirteen shillings per week, including the charge of maintenance, a rate that would not much exceed the expense incurred by the employment of slaves, as will be shown by the following calculation :

First cost of a slave, eighty pounds sterling.

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Calculating to have the labour of that slave for twenty-one years, and interest of money at five per cent., we may take twelve years' purchase as the price paid ; which, on a division of eighty by twelve, is per ann.	6	13	4

* Governor Brooke adopted this measure without hesitation, and Governor Patton is also fully aware of its propriety, and has formed a plan for its execution, by which the new settler becomes accountable to the Governor and Council for his conduct in respect to the government. Enrolment as a volunteer also forms a stipulation in the licence, as service in the militia did in Governor Brooke's system

	£. s. d.
Brought over	6 13 4
Insurance of his life, and against casualties which may deprive his master of his active services, at five per cent.	4 0 0
Value of his maintenance, clothes, and medical attendance, according to the average calculation at St. Helena	20 0 0
Total annual expense of a slave at St. Helena	30 13 4
Labour of a discharged soldier, in- cluding expenses of maintenance, at thirteen shillings per week . .	33 16 0
Difference	3 2 8

From this calculation it appears, that the expense of maintaining a European would exceed the annual charge of a slave by the sum of three pounds two shillings and eight pence. But it should be remembered, that this difference will be more than made up by the superior industry and vigour of the European. The labour of a free man being prompted more by hope than

fear, is universally acknowledged to be more productive than the labour of a slave, whose principal incentive is the dread of punishment. It must, indeed, be allowed that this observation is not generally applicable to the free blacks of St. Helena. Its failure, however, in this case, is most easily explained, and serves only to afford an additional proof of the lamentable consequences which slavery entails on its victims. The greater number of the free blacks have been born and reared in slavery. The habits and dispositions, therefore, of slaves necessarily form a part of their character. Doubtless, there are many exceptions; but it is frequently remarked, that some of them, particularly females, are inclined to view the gift of freedom in scarcely any other light than as a licence to indulge in idleness and vice.

It must be obvious that the proposed plan, like all general plans, must require various modifications and restrictions; and that its success must depend on the judgement with which it may be carried into execution. The privilege of a residence should be granted to none but men of good character, who, having served their contracted term, would quit the island; and to them only on condition of employing

their labour, or their money, not in mercantile speculations, but in husbandry, or in trades, either connected with husbandry, or immediately contributing to the necessary wants of the inhabitants.

By this system, the militia of the island, who at present are volunteers, would receive an augmentation of disciplined men; and the Company could, in cases of necessity, command the service of soldiers without the burthen of paying them.

The introduction of Chinese labourers has been suggested by Governor Patton as a remedy for the evil under consideration, and the suggestion surely deserves regard. In case of its adoption, it might be proper to place these labourers at the disposal of Government, and to permit them, when their services may not be required for public works, to engage themselves, at fixed rates, in the employment of private individuals. Such an accession of labour would, among other advantages, relieve the garrison from much of that drudgery which at present interferes with their military duties; and by this means the cultivation of the island might be greatly increased.

As the roads are in general inaccessible to carts, particularly in the interior parts of the island, and in the vicinity of Sandy Bay, the produce of most of the farms in the country is carried on men's heads. The waste of human labour which this practice occasions would be obviated by the use of asses or mules. Of late the value of the former seems to have attracted some attention, and, within the last six years, the price of an ass has risen from five to twenty pounds sterling. It is a great advantage that these animals prefer the vegetable food which others do not eat; so that a further importation of them would not diminish the pasturage required for the more profitable stock of cattle.

The author is aware that the solicitude which he has expressed with regard to St. Helena may be represented as misplaced, and that the very possession of that island may be thought a point of inferior consequence by those who maintain that the Cape of Good Hope is exclusively worthy of the national attention. It is true, that the superior internal resources of the latter colony, its extent, and, above all, its position, so critically adapted for the annoyance or protection of our Eastern dominions, render it an object of such supreme importance, that it is

probable no Minister will lightly consent to resign it to a foreign power. But in the present fluctuating state of the political world, to calculate on the certainty of our retaining that acquisition would be the height of absurdity: and, even admitting that we shall hold it for ever, it may still be clearly shown that the possession of the Cape is far from superseding the necessity of retaining St. Helena. It is well known that ships cannot always obtain a safe anchorage at the Cape, and it is needless to detail the melancholy accidents which have taken place on that coast. The whole history of St. Helena, on the other hand, furnishes but one instance of a wreck, and that on the day of its first discovery. The seas and winds at the Cape do not at all seasons allow ships to leave its harbours, and delays of several weeks have at times been the consequence; but, with the single exception noticed in the sixth chapter, no vessel has been known to have been weather-bound at St. Helena.

The probability of such dangers and inconveniences might sometimes render it hazardous for a valuable homeward-bound fleet to touch at the Cape, and, in such circumstances, a port like St. Helena under their lee would be of in-

estimable importance. The water there is as pure, and as wholesome, as at the Cape, and can be procured with equal facility and equal expedition*. A fleet was very lately supplied there with more than two thousand tons of water in less than three days. Refreshments of other kinds are not, indeed, so abundant; yet the supply of these is always more than sufficient to recruit the sick, and to lay in a plentiful sea-store of excellent potatoes.

These considerations certainly tend to prove that St. Helena, as a rendezvous for East-India convoys, is preferable to the Cape. If, however, they should not be thought of sufficient weight to counterbalance the other acknowledged advantages of the latter place; if it should be determined that St. Helena shall no longer be a port of refreshment and rendezvous, the question of its retention and improvement is still a pressing one. To abandon the possession of it, or to retain it without an adequate defence, would be, in fact, to deliver into the hands of

* Governor Patton has it in contemplation still further to expedite the watering of ships, by applying the Terra Puzzolana in the construction of an additional aqueduct and cistern.

a vigilant and enterprising enemy a strong hold, situated in the very track of our wealthiest fleets, and incalculably important as a port either of retreat or annoyance. That the French are awake to its value, and prepared to avail themselves of any remissness on the part of its present possessors, is evident from the plans which they have repeatedly formed for its capture. The possession, then, of this island appears indispensable ; and, admitting this necessity, it is equally clear that no expense should be thought too great for the maintenance of an adequate garrison. And the author will surely be forgiven from his natural feelings towards it, for indulging some degree of honest pride in the belief, and in the wish, that this little spot with congenial prosperity may continue to protect the commerce of the East-India Company, and, by participating in their success, be always regarded as an important and essential part of the British empire.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

*Extract from a Charter of King Charles the Second,
dated the 3rd April, 1661.*

AND that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company, and their successors from time to time, and at all times from henceforth, to erect and build such castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies, or plantations, at St. Helena; as also elsewhere within the limits and bounds of trade granted unto the said Governor and Company as aforesaid, as they in their discretion shall think fit and require, and for the supplying of such as shall be requisite to keep and be in the same, to send out of this kingdom to the said castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies, or plantations, all kind of clothing, provision of victuals, ammunition, and

implements necessary for such purpose, without paying of any custom, subsidy, or other duty, for the same: as also to transport and carry over such number of men (being willing thereunto) as they shall think fit; as also to govern them in such legal and reasonable manner as the said Governor and Company shall think fit; and to inflict punishment for misdemeanors, or impose such fines upon them for breach of their orders, as in these presents are formerly expressed.

B.

Copy of a Charter granted to the Company by his Majesty King Charles the Second, dated 16th December, 1673.

Preamble. Charles the Second, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, to all to whom these presents shall come greeting, whereas at the suite of our well-beloved subjects the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and for the honor and profit of this our realme, and in the encouragement of trade in those remote parts, We have, by our royall

charter, or letters patent, bearing date at Westminster, the third day of Aprill, in the 13th yeare of our reigne, granted unto the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, that they and their successors, and their factors, servants, and assigns, in the trade of merchandize for them, and on their behalfe, and not otherwise, shall for ever have, use, and enjoy the whole and entire and only trade and traffique, and the whole, entire, and only liberty, use, and privilege of trading, and traffiquing, and using the feate and trade of merchandize to and from the said East-Indies, and to and from all the islands, ports, havens, citties, towns, and places within their said charter, that is to say, to and from the said East-Indies, in the countries of Asia and Africa, and to and from the islands, ports, havens, creeks, citties, and towns, and places, of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona-Esperance, to the streights of Magellan, where any trade or traffique of merchandize may be used or had ; and that it should and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company, and their successors from time to time, and at all times, henceforth, to erect and build such castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, and to erect such

Liberty to
erect forts
at St. He-
lena.

collonies, and make such plantations att St. Helena, as also elsewhere within the limitts and bounds of trade granted unto the said Governor and Company as aforesaid, as they in theire discretion shall think fitt and requesit, and for the supplying of such as should be requesit to keep or be in the same, to send out of this kingdom to the said castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, collonies, or plantations, all

To send provisions thi-
ther without paying any
duty. kinde of clothing, provision, or victuals, ammunition, and supplies necessary

for such purpose, without paying of any custom, subsidy, or other duty, for the same; as also to govern them in such legall and reasonable manner as the Governor and Company shall think fitt; and to inflict punishment for misdemeanors, or impose such fines upon for breach of their orders, as in our said charter are expressed. And whereas also by our said royall charter or letters patent Wee have ordained that there shall be a Government and twenty-four Committees of the said Company, to be ellected and appointed in such forme as therein is expressed, who shall from time to time have the directions of the voyage of and for the said Company, and the provision of the shipping and merchandize thereunto belonging, and also the saile of all merchandize, goods, and other things, returned

in all or any of the voyages or ships of or for the said Company, and the manageing and handleing of all other businesses, affairs, and things, belonging to the said Company ; and likewise that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governour and Company for the time being, or the major part of them present at any publique meeting, commonly called the Generall Court, holden for the said Company, the said Governour for the said Company alwaies being one, from time to time to elect, nominate, and appoint one of the said Company to be the Deputy to the said Governor, who from time to time, in the absence of the said Governour, shall exercise and execute the office of Governour of the said Company, in such sort as the said Governour ought to do, as by our said charter letters patent, reference thereunto being had among divers others, grants, liberties, immunitiess, privileges, and preheminences, may more fully appear ; and whereas, in persuance of our said royal charter, the said Governor and Company did, att theire own cost and charge, erect severall forts and fortifications as aforesaid, being an island situate in or near Africa, beyond the line, and on this side the Cape of Bona-Esperanza, and placed a garrison theire, and where proceeding to plant and people on the same, and for

that purpose had transported divers of our subjects, who were willing thereunto, to inhabit there; but our said subjects inhabiting the said island were
Referred to lately, in time of warr between us and the states of the United Provinces, by force of arms dispossessed thereof by the subjects
the capture of St. Helena by the Dutch.
Its re-capture by the grace of God on our royll ships tain Munden. and forces of the said states, and the said states and theire subjects had and kept the quiett posetion thereof for severall months together; and whereas,
theire subjects had and kept the quiett posetion
and forces under the command of Sir Richard Munden, the said island, and all and singular the forts, fortifications, and other the appurtenances thereunto belonging, were retaken from the said states and their subjects, and a garrison of our subjects placed there, by virtue or reason whereof the said island, and all and singular the forts and fortifications, erections, and buildings thereon, with the appurtenances vested in us, our heirs and successors in the write of our crowne, all artillery, arms, armour, weapons, ordinance, munition, magazins, stores, goods, chattles, and movables whatsoever, which were there found at the time our said forces
Vested in the retook the same as aforesaid, do of right Crown, by right of conquest. belong unto us, and no other; and whereas the said island hath bin found by experience to be

very necessary and comodious for our loving sub-
jects the said Governour and Company of Merchants
trading into the East-Indies, for refreshing of their
servants and people in theire returnes homewards,
being often then weak and decayed in their health
by reason of their long voyages under their hott
clymes, whereupon our subjects, the said Governour
and Company, have besought us to re-grant and
confirme the same unto them : Now know yee, that
forasmuch as Wee have found by much experience
that the said trade into the said East-Indies hath bin
manned by the said Governour and Company to
the honour and profit of this our realme, and to that
end, and out of our earnest desires that the said Go-
vernour and Company may, by all good and lawfull
means and waies be encouraged in their difficult and
hazardous trade and traffique in these remote parts
of the world, Wee therefore, of our especiall grace,
certain knowledge, and meer motion, have Re-granted to
the East-India Company, given, granted, and confirmed, and by
these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do
give, grant, and confirme unto the said Governour
and Company of Merchants of London trading into
the East-Indies, their successors and assigns, all that
the said island St. Helena, with all the rights, pro-
fatts, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever ; and

the soyle, land, fields, woods, mountains, farmes, lakes, pools, harbours, rivers, bays, isles, isletts, scituate or being within the bounds or limitts thereof, with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons, and all other royall fishes in the sea bayes, isletts, rivers, within the premises, and the fish therein taken; and all the veines, maines, quarryes, as well royall mines as the mines whether the same be already discovered or not discovered, and also all gold, silver, veines, and precious stones, and all other whatsoever, be it of stones, metalls, or any thing whatsoever, found, or to be found, within the veynes, mines, or quarries, of the said island and with all roy- premises aforesaid, and all and singular alties.

royalties, revenues, rents, customes, castles, forts, and buildings, and fortifications, erected, and to be erected, on the premises, or any part thereof; and all privileges, franchises, immunitiess, preheminencies, and heridants whatsoever within the same, or to them, or any of them belonging or in any wise appertaining, in as large and ample a manner, to all intents, and purposes, and constitutions, as Wee now ourselfe have and enjoy the same by virtue and force of our said conquest thereof, or otherwise howsoever; and them the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into

the East-Indies, their successors and assigns, Wee do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, make, create, and constitute the true and absolute Lords and proprietors of the island and premises aforesaid, and every part and parcell thereof, saving and alwaies reserving to us, our heirs and successors, the faith and allegiance to us due and belonging, and our royall power and sovereignty of and over our subjects and inhabitants there, to have, hold, possess, and enjoy, the said island, and all and singular other the premises hereinbefore granted unto them, the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, their successors and assigns for ever, to the only use of them, the said Governour and Company, and their assigns for ever more, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of the manner of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent; in free and common soc-

The Company
constituted
Lords
Proprietors
of St. Hele-
na, reserving
to the Crown
the due faith
and allegi-
ance of the
Company
and inhabit-
ants.

To be holden
in the same
manner as
East Green-
wich, in the
county of
Kent.

age, and in capite not by Knight's service: And know yee further, that Wee, of our more especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, have given, granted, and confirmed, and by these presents do give, grant, and confirm unto the said Governour and Company, and their successors and assigns, to

their own proper use and benefit, all that artillary, and all and singular arms, weapons, and ordinances, munition, powder, and shott, victuals, magazines, stores, ammunition, and provision of war, and other provisions whatever, and singular ships, vessels, and boats, and all manner of merchandize and wares, clothing, implements, beasts, cattle, horses and mares, which are or remaine upon or within the premises, or any part thereof, and belonging unto us in any manner or wise; and Wee are pleased, and do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, that for the better supply of the said island (being a place of no trade or traffique), and of the castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, collonies, and plantations, erected and placed, and to be erected and placed, in or upon the said island, or within the premises or limmitts thereof, and of the inhabitants, to send of this kingdom to the said island, and to the castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, collonies, plantations, and inhabitants thereof, all kinde of clothing, provisions, victuals, ammunition, ordinance, and supplyments necessary for such purpose, without paying any custom, subsidy, or other duty for the same; as also to transport and carry over such number of

men, being willing thereunto, as they shall think fitt ; and forasmuch as Wee have made such grant of the said island and premises to the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, as before is mentioned, it is therefore needfull such powers, and premises, and jurisdictions, be granted unto them as be requisite for the good government and safety thereof, and of the inhabitants thereof: Know yee therefore further, that, reposing especiall trust and confidence in theire fidelitye, justis, wisdome, prouident circumspection, have granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London for the time being, or the major part of them present at any publique assembly, commonly called the Generall Court for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company, or Deputy, being alwaies one, or for the said Governour, or his Deputy, or Committees, for the time being, or the major part of them, present att any assembly commonly called the General Court of Committees holden for the said Company, the Governour or his Deputy likewise

being always one, from time to time, ordain, make,
Company's legislative powers, establish, and under theire common seal
to publish, any laws, orders, ordinances,
and constitutions whatsoever, for the government
and other use of the said island and premises and the
inhabitants thereof; and the same, or any of them,
againe and from time to time to revoak, abrogate,
and change, as they in their directions shall think
fitt and convenient; and also to impose, limitt, and
provide such pains, punishments, and penalties, by
fines, amerciaments, imprisonments of body, and,
to the extent where the quallity of the offence shall
of life and limb: require, by taking away life and member,
as to the said Governour and Company for the time
being, or the majority of them present at any such
General Court, or to the said Governour, or his
Deputy, or Committees of the said Company, or the
major part of them present at any such Court of
Committees as aforesaid, the said Governour or his
Deputy being alwaies one, shall seem necessary,
requisite, and convenient for the observation of the
same laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances, and
for the punishment of offenders against the same;
so alwaies as the said laws, constitutions, orders, or-
dinances, pains, punishments, and penalties, be
consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary,

but as neer as may be agreeable to the laws of this our realme of England, and subject to the saveings therein contained. provided they be not contrary to the spirit of the laws of England.

And also of our further especiall grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, We do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Governour and Company, and their successors, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governour, or his Deputy, and the said Committees of the said Company for the time being, or the major part of them, at any of their said Courts, commonly called the Court of Committees, holden for the said Company, from time to time to nominate, make, and constitute, and ordain, Power to appoint Governours and other Ministers. and confirme, by such name or names, stile or stiles, as to them shall seem good, such Governour or Governours, or Ministers, cheife factors, and agents, or other factors and agents, as shall be by them thought fitt and needfull to be made and used for the government, and other use and uses of the said island St. Helena, and of the castles, forts, fortifications, and other the premises hereby granted, and such Governour or Governours, Officers and Ministers, Factors or Agents, at theire directions to revoake, discharge, alter, and change, and also to discharge, alter, and change, all and singu-

lar the Governour and Governours, Officers and Ministers, as heretofore have bin by us made and appointed for the government and other use of the island St. Helena, or any of the forts, fortifications, limmitts, or presincts therefore ; and Wee are also pleased, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said Governour and Company, and their successors, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governour, or his Deputy, and Committees of the Company for the time being, or the major part of them, by themselves, or by their Governour or Governours, Officers or Ministers, Factors and Agents, to be ordained and appointed as aforesaid, according to the nature and limmitts of their respective offices and places within the said island St. Helena, the territories and pre-Judicial powers, sincts thereof, to correct, punish, govern, and rule, all and every the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, that now do, or any time hereafter shall, inhabit within the said island and presincts thereof, according to such laws, ordinances, orders, and constitutions, as by the said Governour and Company, at any General Court, or Court of Committees, as aforesaid, shall be established, and to do all and every other thing and things which to the complete establishment of justice doth belong, by

court sessions of judicature, and manners of proceedings, thereunto like unto those established and used in our realme of England. Altho' in these presents express mention be not made thereof, and by Judges, and by their Officers, by them, the said Governour, or his Deputy, and Committees of the said Company, or the major part of them, or by the said chief Governour or Governours of the said island St. Helena, to be delegated to award process, hold please, judge and determine all actions, suitts, and causes whatsoever, of any kind or nature, and to execute all and every such judgments, alwaies the said laws, ordinances, and proceedings be reasonable, and not repugnant or contrary, but as neer as may be to the laws, statuts, governments, and policy, of our kingdom of England, and subject to the saveings herein ; and Wee do also confirme and grant unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, as also to all and every such Governour or Governours, or Officers, Minnisters, and Commanders, as shall be appointed by the said Governour, or his Deputy, or Committees of the said Company as aforesaid, to have power and authority of government and command in and over the said port and island, and they and every of them shall and lawfully may, from time to time, and at all times

Military powers. hereafter, for their several defence and safety, encounter, expell, repell, resist, subdue, retayne, and possess, by force of armes, as well by sea as by land, and by all waies and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons whatsoever, as without the special licence and authority of us, our heirs and successors, or of the said Governour and Company, or their successors, shall attempt to inhabit within the presincts and limmitts of the said island, and also every such person or persons whatsoever as shall enterprize or attempt any destruction or invasion, hurt, detriment, or annoyances thereunto, or to our subjects inhabiting within the same, or any part thereof, or to them, or any of their goods, merchandize, interests, property, or estates whatsoever ; and Wee do further, for us, our heirs and successors, hereby declare, ordayne, and grant, that such principall Governours of the said island as shall from time to time be duly authorized and appointed, in manner aforesaid, shall have full powers and authority in their respective places and charges, to use and exercise all such powers and authorities in their respective places, in such cases of rebellion, mutiny, or sedition, of refusing to serve in wars, flying to the enemye, forsakeing the collours, or ensignes, or other officers, law, custom, and disipline

millitary, in as large and ample a manner, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as any Captain-General of our army, by virtue of his office, have used and accustomed, and may or might do ; and of our more especiall grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, Wee do, for us, our heirs and successors, further ordaine and grant, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governor of the said Company, or his Deputy, for the time being, or the appointment of the major part of the Committees for the said Company, assembled in any of their said Courts, commonly called their Courts of Committee, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to administer such a formall le-
gall oath as by their directions shall be reasonably devised, unto any person or persons to be employed in, for, or concerning, the said island St. Helena, or any part thereof, as well for the true and faithfull execution and performance of their respective offices and employments, as also for the rendering a just, true, and perfect account of writeing of all such goods, monies, and other things, as, by reason of their said offices and employments, shall come to their respective hands, unto the said Governor and Company, to such person or persons as shall be by them appointed to take the same account; and

Governor to have the power of Captain-General.

Power to administer oaths.

also to all Governours, Officers, Ministers, Agents, Factors, of what nature soever, or by what titlle soever they shall be called, which shall be lawfully sent or placed in the said island St. Helena, as well for the good government thereof, and the inhabitants there, as for the ordering, safe keeping, and true accoumpting of and for all such laws, goods, proffits, commoditties, matters, and things, whatsoever, as shall be committed to their charge, or any of their government, charge, care, and custody ; and also to such persons as the Governour, or said Deputy, with the major part of the said Committees, for the time being, shall think meet for the examination of, or clearing the truth in, any case whatsoever concerning the said Company, and relating to the said island St. Helena, or concerning any prisoner from thence proceeding, or thereunto belonging ; and Wee do, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Governour and Company, and their successors, that the chief Governour or Governours resident in the said island, of what names or title soever they be called, shall have the like power to minister a formall and legall oath to all other officers and inferior ministers whatsoever, on the said island St. Helena, for the just, true, and faithfull discharge of their severall places, duties, and services, as also

unto any other person or persons whatsoever, for the examination, satisfying, and clearing the truth, in any cause, as well concerning the said island St. Helena as any other particular business there arising, for the maintaining and administration of peace and justice amongst the inhabitants of the said island, or any other person in that place ; and our pleasure is, and Wee do, for us, our heirs and successors, declare by these presents, that all and every the persons being our subjects, which do or shall inhabit within the said port or island, and every their children and posterity which shall happen to be borne within the presincts thereof, shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, immunities, capacities, and abilities, of franchises and natural subjects within any of our dominions, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and borne within this our realme of England, or in any of our dominions ; and, lastly, our will and pleasure is, and Wee do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and grant unto the said Governoour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, that these our letters patents, and all and singular grants and causes therein contayned, shall be and continue firme, strong, and sufficient, and available in the law, and shall be contayned, re-

Natives of St.
Helena to be
free denizens
of England.

puted, and taken, as well to the meaning and intent as to the words of the same, most graciously and honourably for the best advantage and benefitt of the said Governour and Company, and their successors, although express mention be not made herein of the true yearly value and certainty of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other gifts or grants made by us, or any of our ancesters, or predecessors, to them the said Governour and Company, or any other person or persons whatsoever, or any omission or defect herein, or any law, statut, act, provision, order, ordinance, published, ordayne, or provided, or any other cause, matter, or thinge, whatsoever to the contrary thereof, or in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof We have caused these our letters patent to be made, witness ourselfe at Westminster, the 16th day of December, in the five-and-twentieth yeare of our reigne.

By writt of Privy Seal,

(Signed) PIGOTT.

C.

Extract from the first Commission of Government after the re-capture of the island by Sir Richard Munden.

By the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies, at a Court of Committee holden the 19th December, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Anno Domini 1673.

Whereas, upon notice given us of the reducement of the island St. Helena, by Sir Richard Munden, Knt. Commander of a squadron of ships, sent for by the King's most excellent Majesty, We, attending his Majesty, to know his pleasure, whether the said island should be continued under his Majesty's immediate government and charge, or what directions his Majesty would be pleased to give therein; and his Majesty having thereupon signified his royal pleasure that the island should be under our govern-

ment, and to our use, and to be maintained at our charge, and accordingly by his letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date the 16th of this instant month of December, have granted and confirmed to us, the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies, and our successors, the said island St. Helena, and thereof made and constituted as the free and absolute Lords and Proprietors, with power and authority to give such rules and directions for the good government of the said island as to us shall seem meet; a copy whereof shall either accompany these, or soon after be sent you, and we, having taken into consideration how we might best settle the said island for its future safety and preservation, and taking notice of the several persons that were left by the said Sir Richard Munden on the said island, and of the wages and pay which they were entertained at when admitted into his Majesty's service, mentioned in a list herewith transmitted, all which persons we have taken into our pay from the 15th day of May, 1673, being the time of their landing at our island, until they shall be discharged from our service; and we having, for the ends aforesaid, thought fit to entertain in our service several other persons, to make provisions of ammunition, victuals, stores, and other things, which

are sent by the two ships we have hired for their transportation, viz. the European, Captain James Potter commander, and the John and Alexander, Mr. Samuel Riecard, commander, a list of whose names, and invoice of the goods, and bills of lading, are herewith also sent: Now know all persons, that, in pursuance of the authority to us granted as aforesaid, and for the good government of the said island, we have made and ordained, and by these presents make, and ordain, and constitute Captain Richard Field to be Governor of the said island, Captain Anthony Beale to be Deputy-Governor, the Lieutenants of the two companies of foot on the said island for the time being, Francis Moore, John Colstons, and Richard Swallow, to be of our Council for the said island, and to take place in Council in the order they are here named; which said Governor and Council for the time being, and in the absence of our Governor, his Deputy, and our said Council, or any three of them, whereof the Governor or his Deputy to be always one, are, under us, to have and exercise the chief command and authority in the said island, in all matters whatsoever, and unto whom all the people and persons there residing, of what quality or condition soever, are to give and yield due obedience. And forasmuch as it is alto-

gether necessary that, in case of the death or remove of the said Captain Richard Field, before or after these presents shall come unto you, the said island should be provided for the government thereof, sooner than at so great a distance we can be advertized of his death, or remove, and appoint another to succeed in the place of Governor, we have thought fit to ordain and appoint, that, in case of his death or remove, the before-named Captain Beale shall succeed in the place of Governor of the said island ; and in case of the death or remove as well of the said Captain Anthony Beale as well as of the said Captain Field, then we do constitute and appoint our Council of the said island (for the time being), or any three or more of them, to be our chief commissioners for executing the place and office of Governor of the said island, in as full and ample a manner, and with the same powers as are hereby granted unto the said Captain Field or Captain Beale, to continue until the contrary shall be signified under the Company's seal.

D.

System of Laws in force upon the island St. Helena previous to the introduction of Military Courts, in the year 1754, and Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery.

We, the Governour and Company of
Merchants of England trading to the East-
Indies, at our Court of Committees holden for the
said Company, have made and ordained, and do by
these presents make, ordain, constitute, and appoint
our Governour and Council of and for the
said island, for the time being, or the ^{Powers of} Council.
major part of them, under us, to have and exercise
the supreme command, power, and authority in the
said port or island of St. Helena, in all causes and
matters whatsoever; unto whom the people and per-
sons there residing or inhabiting, of what quality or
condition soever, are to give and yield due obedi-
ence; and, for the prevention of all oppression, dis-
order, and irregular proceedings, that there may
be some known rules for government and people to

walk by, we have ordained, and do by these presents make, ordain, constitute, and appoint, the several laws, rules, orders, directions, and forms of proceeding, hereafter mentioned and expressed, to be carefully and punctually observed in the said island of St. Helena, and the territories and places thereunto belonging.

We do direct, order, and appoint, that the Lord's Religious and strict observa- Day be religiously observed by absti-
tion of the Lord's Day; the Governor and Council to plement from all bodily and secular em-
ployments, as also from all gaming, and give the ex- other unlawful pastimes; and that our Governor and Council take care not only to appoint one, or more, public place or places, for the worship of God, whither all persons may resort to attend and join in the public exercise of religious duties, as prayer, reading the word, hearing of sermons, and, on occasions and at fit times, the administration of both the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; but also by their presence to encourage the Minister or Ministers in the discharge of his or their duties, and the people in their attendance on the ordinances; and that all be done with due reverence, and with decency and order; and if that there shall happen to be no Minister upon the said island, yet

they shall in solemn manner assemble together on the Lord's Day ; and in such case the Governor and his Council shall cause some part or portion of the Holy Scripture, and some godly sermons to be read, with prayer, and such other duties, to be performed as they in their Christian prudence shall think fit.

That in the public the Minister, or such as discharge the duty of prayer in absence of a Minister, to be mindful to pray for our Sovereign Lord the King's

To pray for our King and kingdoms, and the Honourable Company's welfare.

Majesty, the peace, happiness, and prosperity of his kingdoms, as also for the good and welfare of the English East-India Company ; and also that in the public assembly, every Lord's Day, at such times as may be most convenient, the creed commonly called the Apostles' Creed, or sometimes, in place, the creed commonly called Athanasius' Creed, as also the ten Commandments of the moral law, out of the 20th chapter of Exodus, together with the summary thereof, as it is contained in the 22d chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, 37, 38, 39, and 40th verses, to be read unto the people.

That when there is a Minister resident on the island, the Minister, once in every

The Minister to catechise the children weekly.

week, either some time on the Lord's Day, or on some other day, shall catechise the youths and younger people in public, at the public place of worship, and then to open and expound the doctrine of the true religion, that so the people may be well grounded in the principle and doctrine of faith, and be able to give a reason of their hope, and on good grounds to maintain their religion against all opposers and gainsayers. The time for the said catechising Governor and Council to be present. shall be appointed by our said Governor and Council, who are to be present thereat, if not hindered by necessary affairs.

We do direct and appoint that all and every person or persons that shall profane the Lord's Day, by travelling, working, gaming, or any other unlawful pastime, shall, for the first offence, be only reproved and admonished; but every such offence afterwards shall be fined, not exceeding the value of five shillings for one offence.

That all swearing, and taking the name of God in Swearing. vain, be carefully avoided: if any person, after he be once admonished for that fault, shall offend by swearing, he shall be fined, not exceeding one shilling for one offence.

That all intemperance and drinking be abstained from. If any shall drink to drunkenness, Drunkenness. for the first offence he shall be admonished, and if after admonition he or she shall offend again, then they shall be fined, not exceeding five shillings for one offence ; it being intended that if any person of quality (who should be examples to others) be guilty, that they may pay a greater fine than persons of a meaner rank.

That all fornication, uncleanness, and Lewdness. adultery, be forborne ; and if any should offend, and be convicted of the crime, that in such case (until it be otherwise provided) our Governor and Council do take care to discountenance and punish the same in such a way as shall be by them found most efficacious, and not contrary to the laws and statutes of the kingdom of England.

That none do steal, or take from an- Stealing. other, that which do not belong unto him ; and if in case of theft, by taking away by force or threats from any person, whereby they might be put to fear, or by breaking open any house, or room, or cupboard, or trunk, that was locked, the party convicted thereof shall not only restore what he or they

took away to the party from whom he or they stole the same, but also three times the value thereof, and the rest of his estate whatever (after his debts paid) shall be forfeited to the Company; who shall stand in pillory, in a public place, and be whipped from thence to the prison, and that he be there left to the discretion of the Governor and Council either to discharge, or make work at the fortifications of the island; and if it be any other kind of thievery, and the party convicted, he or she shall return what he or she stole, and three times the value more, to the person from whom he or she stole the same; and in case of inability, he or she shall be forced to work for that person till the same be by work made up*.

False witnesses. If any person called, or tendering himself, to be a witness, in any case shall witness falsely, through malice, or covetousness, or on any other account (unless it shall appear to be meerly through mistake, and in some circumstances not much material to

* This law was abrogated in the year 1717, upon which occasion the Company transmitted the following order :

“ In all cases wherein we have not given particular directions touching “ punishments of body or purse, keep yourselves as near as may be to the “ laws of England, for whatsoever exceeds will be accounted arbitrary.”

the thing in question), and shall be thereof convicted, the same damage, pain, or prejudice, that his testimony (had it been true and received) would have procured, or did procure (excepting death), to any other party, he shall be adjudged to sustain, and for ever his witness and testimony shall be deemed and adjudged invalid, to all intents and purposes ; and if it appears that such witness was suborned, then both the witness and the person that suborned him to be equally liable to make satisfaction, and shall both stand in the pillory.

If any person shall counterfeit any deed, *Forgery.* deeds, writing, or other papers, or by any device cheat another of any lands, goods, or money, and thereof be convicted, he shall make satisfaction to the party injured, and shall also be fined the like sum to the Company, and to stand in the pillory three public days; and, in case of nonability to make satisfaction, or pay the fine, he shall be obliged to work for the party injured, in the first place, and then for the Company, gratis, such time as shall be adjudged sufficient to satisfy the said sums.

In case any person shall quarrel with *Quarrelling.* another, not being his servant, or under his com-

mand, or strike or wound him, the party offending shall make satisfaction to the party injured, and, over and besides, shall also be fined, to the use of the Company, for the breach of the peace, and the said fine shall not exceed twenty shillings for any one offence.

Striking an Officer. In case any shall strike an Officer, being about the execution of his office, he shall be fined at discretion, not exceeding five pounds, or to be publicly whipt, or imprisoned, unless the Governor, with the consent of the major part of the Council, shall think good to pardon; and shall, moreover, pay treble charges to the Officer injured.

Directions for preserving the public peace. And for the better preserving the peace of the island, and keeping all persons in due subordination, and securing the island against enemies, we do ordain, direct, and appoint, Striking the Governor or his Ministers. that no person whatsoever shall imprison, or lay violent hands on, or strike, the Governor, or any of his superior Officers, or Ministers, or attempt, or conspire so to do, and in case any shall offend therein, and be thereof convicted, he shall suffer such corporal punishment (not ex-

tending to the taking away life), as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of his military Officers, shall adjudge, according to the nature of the offence; and, in case of striking the Governor, he also shall forfeit to the Company all his lands, and tenements, goods, and chattles.

That if any Captain, Officer, or soldier, Officers' or soldiers' neglect in the Company's service, in the said of duty. island, shall neglect his duty, and be thereof convicted, by the testimony of two witnesses upon oath, he or they shall be fined by the Governor, to the use of the Company, not exceeding one month's pay; and shall also suffer such corporal punishment as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of his military Officers, shall adjudge the matter to deserve.

If any shall embezzle, or steal, any powder, shot, ammunition, or other stores, and sell the same, both the persons so embezzling and stealing, as also the abettors, buyers, and receivers thereof, shall be liable, over and above the penalties hereinbefore appointed in cases of theft, to be imprisoned, not exceeding six months, or to suffer such other corporal punishment as the

Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of his Council, shall adjudge the matter to deserve.

We strictly enjoin, that no person inhabiting the island, not being officers or soldiers, be permitted to wear any swords, it being, by the custom of all nations, an unallowable thing in frontier garrisons; and we think it may not be very proper for your private soldiers to wear swords, in such a drinking place as St. Helena is, except when they are upon duty; and if any of the inhabitants neglect this order, you may fine them one shilling for the first offence, two shillings for the second, and so on unto five shillings, to ties quoties; but your Officers are not to be any where without their swords: they ought to forfeit five shillings to the Company for each offence in that kind: whether to extend this order so far as Serjeants and Corporals we leave to your discretion; but considering you have sober Officers, we think it may not be amiss to permit Serjeants and Corporals to the privilege of wearing swords, hoping you will choose the soberest men into those offices; and Passengers that whosoever of the inhabitants, officers, or soldiers, or any belonging to, or pass-

Inhabitants to wear no swords.

Who must, or may, wear swords.

anger, 20s. fine.

engers on board of, any ship, shall presume to draw a sword, shall forfeit and pay twenty shillings, the one moiety to the Company, and the other to the necessary fortifications.

In case of wilful murder, the party convicted by a jury shall suffer death; the manner of his death shall be at the discretion of the Governor and Council, agreeable to the laws of England.

That if any Captain, Officer, soldier, or mariner, that have entertained themselves in the Company's service, in or at the said island, or any inhabitant thereof, or any person or persons that shall come to the said island, shall raise sedition, and make or abett any mutiny, or shall contrive or endeavour either himself, or to entice or corrupt any other Officer, soldier, or mariner, or inhabitant, or any other person whatsoever, to fire or destroy, or to yield and deliver up any fort, ship, or vessel, or magazine, in or at the said island, to any enemy whatsoever, such Captain, Officer, soldier, mariner, inhabitant, or other person, being thereof duly convicted by a jury, shall be sentenced to suffer death, and to forfeit and lose all his estate to the use of the Company; which sentence shall be

Mutiny and
sedition are
capital of-
fences.

executed accordingly, unless the Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of his Military Officers, shall pardon, or remit, any part of the same.

Insurrection and rebellion. In case any person or persons shall make any insurrection, or gather together in an hostile manner, without the especial command of the Governor, or of such who have authority from him, or shall not, upon command from the Governor, lay down their arms, and submit to the ordinary justice; as also if any person or persons shall contrive to betray, or deliver up, the island, or any fort, castle, port, or place therein, or any ships or vessels belonging to the English, into the hands of any other people or nation, or, in order thereunto, shall hold intelligence or correspondency with any that are declared enemies to the English, and shall be legally convicted, by a jury of twelve men, of any of the said crimes, he or they shall be sentenced to suffer death, and forfeit all their estates; which sentence shall be executed accordingly, unless the Governor, with the advice and consent of the major part of the Council, shall, on good considerations, think fit to pardon, or remit, any part thereof*.

* The laws annexing capital punishments to mutiny, sedition, insurrection, and rebellion, were abrogated, in the year 1705, by an order that no person should suffer death, except only for wilful murder.

The following order was transmitted in the third paragraph of the Court of Directors' letter to St. Helena, dated 1683.

“ But in case of the taking away of life, limb, or
“ lands, we would have you proceed according to
“ that method by juries.”

N. B. Some additional ordinances were promulgated, or re-published, in the year 1709 ; for particulars respecting which see Appendix, H.

E.

Laws and orders, constituted for the Negro slaves, by the inhabitants of the island, with the approbation of the Governor and Council *.

That no Black or Blacks, upon any pretence whatsoever, shall wander from Against wandering on Sundays. his master's plantation, upon Sundays, without a lawful occasion, granted by their said masters or mistresses, either by writing, or some other token that shall be known by the neighbourhood, upon

* The author cannot ascertain the exact period when the laws were framed and published ; but it must have been either in Governor Field's time, or in the early part of Mr. Blackmore's government.

the penalty of ten lashes on his naked body for the first offence, fifteen for the second, twenty for the third, and so for every offence thereafter committed: but if the master of the said slave or slaves should refuse to comply with this said order, and the person who shall have taken the said slave or slaves acting contrary to this said order, shall be obliged to complain to the Governor and Council, whom we desire to fine him or them that shall so offend at discretion.

For pilfering and stealing. That Negro, or Negroes, that shall be known to steal the value of eighteen pence, shall have twenty lashes on their naked body, inflicted by the master or masters of such slave or slaves, in the presence of the person so offended; but if the theft should amount to three shillings, the lashes aforesaid are to be increased to thirty; and if six shillings to sixty; and the party so prejudiced shall receive the value of the thing so stolen in specie, or in money, from the owner of said slave or slaves; and if the theft amounts to above six shillings, and under thirty shillings, the offender shall be seized, and brought to the fort, where he shall immediately receive fifty lashes on his naked body, and secured; two days after, he shall receive thirty

lashes, and two days after that, twenty more: and the master of the Black shall pay the value stolen, as before.

Those that shall absent their masters' Absentees and runaways. service three days and three nights, shall be punished according to the last foregoing article, and the master make satisfaction for what they have stolen as aforesaid.

For the first offence of this kind, the master or masters shall make satisfaction for what is stolen, and repair all damages done by the slave or slaves; so soon as taken, shall be brought to the fort, and immediately receive, on his naked body, one hundred lashes, then secured; four days after that, thirty; six days after that, twenty more, and branded in the forehead with the letter R: for the second offence in this kind, he shall be punished as abovesaid, and wear, for one year, a chain and clogg of thirty pounds weight; and for the third offence, satisfaction shall be made as aforesaid to the loser or losers, and the slave or slaves shall suffer death, at the discretion of the Governor and Council.

For breaking open houses.

In relation to
strike any, or
assaulting any
white person.

In case any male slave, from the age of sixteen years and upwards, shall presume and attempt to strike or assault any white person whatsoever, correcting him or otherwise, for any cause whatsoever, shall, for the said offence or offences (though without weapon or dangerous instrument), undergo and suffer the punishment of castration, that is to say, shall have his testicles cut out; and in case any such slave or slaves shall chance to die under the punishment aforesaid, or before he be well, then the country and public shall bear the loss, and make good the value of said Black, with the charge of castration to the master or owner of said slave or slaves, according to an appraisement made by the Governor and Council for the time being: further, but in case the said slave or slaves should die through neglect of the master or owner, then, upon proof thereof, the said master or owner to bear their own loss of the said slave or slaves, and the whole charge of every thing relating thereto; and if the said slave live, the master to be at all charges.

In relation to
those that shall
give saucy lan-
guage, resist,
or oppose, or
strike, any
white person.

That if any Negro slave, male or female, shall presume to resist any white person whatsoever, in the taking or pursuit of them upon any lawful occasion,

the slave or slaves so offending and resisting as aforesaid, for the first offence shall be immediately conveyed to the great fort, and secured till they have undergone double punishment, according to the constitution of runaway Negroes, and branded in the forehead with the letter R; and for a second offence in this nature, the said slave or slaves so offending shall suffer the same punishment as is adjudged and ordered in the case of striking or assaulting any white person, to wit, to be castrated, if a male, but if a female, to be severely whipped, as aforesaid, and both ears to be cut off, and branded in the forehead and both cheeks.

And in case any slave or slaves, male or female, shall presume to strike any white person whatsoever, with any weapon, the said slave or slaves so offending shall suffer death; except those white persons who demean and debase themselves in conversing, corresponding, and gaming, with the blacks, as if they were equals, which we judge shall have no more benefit of those laws than Blacks themselves.

And in case any Negro slave, male or female, shall presume to give any saucy or impertinent language or answer to any white person (except those

white persons aforesaid), shall, upon complaint thereof to the master or owners of the said slave, be severely whipt, in the presence of the party offended, to his satisfaction; and if the said master or owner of the said slave shall refuse, or neglect, to punish the said slave so offending, then the party offended may complain to the Governor, and so cause the said slave to be apprehended, and conveyed to the fort, and punished according to the nature of the offence.

Against one Black bartering with another.

That no Negro slave or slaves shall truck, barter, or exchange any thing, without

the foreknowledge and consent of the owners of the said Negroes, both the sellers and buyers, deliverers and receivers, of any commodity whatsoever, to the value of one shilling, upon the penalty of twenty lashes, or more if it should exceed that value, according to the judgement of the Governor and Council, severely to be inflicted on them at the flagstaff, upon the complaint of any one aggrieved by such a clandestine way of one Negro dealing with another.

Against any white person trucking or bartering with Blacks.

That no white person whatsoever shall truck, barter, or exchange any commodity whatsoever, with any Negro or Ne-

groes, to sell to them, nor buy of them, any sort of commodity, without the foreknowledge and consent of the owners of the said Negro or Negroes, upon the penalty of being adjudged accessory to felony, and so consequently liable to a fourfold restitution to the owners of the said Negro or Negroes, besides a fine to the Lords Proprietors; nor no Negro shall alienate any commodity or thing whatsoever, to any white person whatsoever, without the leave and consent of the said Negroes' master or mistress before had, upon the penalty of severe correction, according to the judgement of the Governor and Council.

That no Negro whatsoever shall prescribe or administer any physic or medicine whatsoever, to any Negro or Negroes, without the consent of his or their master or mistress of that Negro unto whom he shall prescribe or administer any physic or medicine, upon the penalty of severe correction, according to the judgement of the Governor and Council; neither shall any Negro whatsoever take or receive any physic or medicine, or follow the rules or prescription of any pretended black Doctor whatsoever, without acquainting their master or mistress therewith, upon the penalty of

No Black to
prescribe phy-
sic each to
other.

the like pain and punishment as the black Doctor who pretends to physic is liable to.

F.

A copy of a clause, in another charter from King Charles the Second, dated 9 August, 1685, in the 35th of his reign.

—And also, that the said Governor, and Deputy-Governor, and Court of the said Company, for the time being, or the major part of them, duly assembled, shall have full power, licence, and authority, to name and appoint Governors and Officers, from time to time, in the said forts, and factories, and plantations; which said Governor and Officers shall have, and by these presents We do, for our heirs and successors, give them full power and authority to raise, arm, train, and muster, such military forces as to them shall seem requisite and necessary, and to execute and use, within the said plantations, forts, and places, the law, called the Martial Law, for the defense of the said forts, places, and plantations, against any foreign invasion, or domestic insurrection or rebellion, or to follow such orders, directions, and instructions, as from time to time shall be

given them by the Governor, and Deputy-Governor, and Court of the said Company, or the major part of them, the sovereign right, power, and dominion, over all the said forts, places, and plantations, to be at any time settled in the parts aforesaid.

G.

Petition of Coulston's four daughters to the House
of Commons.

The most deplorable case of the poor distressed planters in the island St. Helena, under the cruel oppressions of the East-India Company, humbly presented to the charitable consideration of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled, by Elizabeth, Martha, Grace, and Sarah, the mournful daughters of John Coulston, who was one of those that was murdered by a pretended court-martial at that place.

For the invitation of people to go over and inhabit St. Helena, the East-India Company promised to give each family twenty acres of land, and two cows, and that they should be free from all charges, duties, and impositions whatsoever, excepting six pence for

every ten acres of land, to be paid for repairing the church, and obliging them to take their turns of watching for the safety of the island.

Upon these encouragements sundry persons did transplant themselves thither, with their families, and lived comfortably till the year 1683, when Sir Josiah Child had worked himself into the sole dispose and management of all the Company's affairs; and then there was sent over one Robert Holden, to be Deputy-Governor, who was a man of a very evil reputation among all that knew him, and he brought orders for laying several impositions upon the planters, which, in the whole, amounted to more than the real value of their lands.

		£.	s.	d.
For every working slave, per ann.	- - - - -	0	10	6
Ditto head of cattle	- - - - -	0	1	0
Ditto head in each family, per ann.	- - - - -	0	0	6
Ditto ten acres of land, to highways	- - - - -	0	0	9
Ditto ten ditto, for duties	- - - - -	0	10	0
Ditto beast sold on ship board	- - - - -	0	0	6
Ditto all calicoes bought for use, per piece	0	0	6	
Ditto all strong liquors, per gallon	- - - - -	0	0	2
Ditto all silks and stuffs for use, per piece	0	0	6	
Ditto all sugars, per cwt.	- - - - -	0	0	2

The imposing copper bars on them for money, and then refusing taking them again ; the settling a price upon their beef, compelling them to sell at those rates ; making them pay 200 per cent. advance for all necessaries they had occasion to buy from the Company's stores.

The most unjust and intolerable impositions being peremptorily demanded of the planters, by the aforesaid Holden, they answered, Their contract with the Company was, to be free from all charges and duties whatsoever, and that they thought such hard things could not be put upon the King's subjects : to which the said Holden reply'd, That they were not now the King of England's, but the Company's, subjects, for that they had transported themselves to that place where the King of England had nothing to do with them. These words were spoken in the presence of several of the planters, and also of one Dennison, a soldier, who therefore accused Holden, to Major Blackmore, the Governor, of treason against the King ; but the Governor, instead of calling Holden to an account, committed Dennison to prison, and put him in irons.

Upon these strange and arbitrary proceedings,

several of the planters, and some of the soldiers, in all about sixty persons, one of whom carried a flag they made, in imitation of the union flag, to signify they thought themselves still the King's subjects, but none having any weapons, save their walking-staves, except three or four soldiers with their musquets, came down to the fort, to desire the Governor to discharge Dennison, and secure Holden ; but he gave them no other answer than his command to begone ; and they still resisting, to desire justice, the Governor ordered both the great and small shot to be fired upon them, which killed three, and wounded fourteen, upon which the rest dispersed, and returned to their respective homes. The next night, the Governor sent a file of musqueteers to the house of William Bowyers, who, when they came, was in bed with his wife ; and several of his friends sleeping in the next room, at whom the soldiers fired through the windows, killed one, and wounded another, and presently entered the house, seizing the said Bowyer, and one Clark, with four others, whom they carried prisoners to the fort, and at their first appearance before the Governor, he asked Bowyers whether he was for a King or no King ; to which Bowyer replied, " For the King, as long as I live, Sir ;" then, says the Governor, put the

biggest irons on him. Some time after, the ship Royal James arrived here, when the Governor and Holden took upon themselves the authority of erecting a court for the trial of the said prisoners, making a jury of half of the Company's soldiers and half of the ship's company, who found Bowyer and the rest guilty of a riot, but no judgement was pronounced against them till some time after the ship had sailed for Europe, when, without any farther trial, the said Bowyer and Clark were hanged by the neck until they were dead.

The Governor and Holden had sent, by the said ship Royal James, a large account of all that had passed of these matters to the East-India Company in London ; who, finding by the aforesaid verdict that their design of having the lives of the poor people at their disposal could not be done by a jury, some of them prevailed with the late King (Charles II^d.) to grant them a commission for a court martial, which was sent out about seven months after.

Sir John Wybourn, who, with the Governor, the aforesaid Holden, and three or four others, were appointed Judges, and they accordingly tried (as they pretended), and condemned to death, fourteen per-

sons more, without the pretence of any other crime than the before-mentioned coming to demand justice against Holden for his treasonable words against the King, which they was pleased to call rebellion ; and when the wives and relations of those unhappy men made their petition to Sir John Weyboune to spare their lives, he answered, 'Twas not in his power ; for they were judged and condemned before he came out of England.

The names of the condemned were as follows :— Thomas Bolton, John Coulston, Job Jewster, William Butler, Edward Gardiner, Gabriel Powell, George Shelton, John Luskin, Matthew Powney, Robert Thompson, William Fox, John Stitch, Hugh Bodley, Leicester Sexton.

N.B. The execution of these poor men was in October, 1685.

Whereof the first five were, in a few days afterwards, hanged by the neck till they were dead ; George Shelton was barbarously stifled to death in the prison ; Gabriel Powell did happily make his escape to Europe, in the ship Rochester, lately arrived ; and all the rest remain there under condemnation.

After they had thus taken away the lives of these poor men, it was moved by some of them that sat for their Judges, that all their lands and goods should be confiscated to the Company's use ; but Major Blackmore, the Governor, who had been acquainted with their proceedings in martial law, declared against it ; and upon the disclose of the debate it was resolved, that an exact account should be taken of all the effects, and seized as forfeited to them, for the aforesaid pretended rebellion, as was accordingly done.

And after these poor men were deprived of their lives, their distressed widows and fatherless children were reduced to the greatest distress and misery ; besides those that were condemned to death, there was thirty more sentenced to have halters about their necks, and kneel down, and say, God save the King, and bless the Honourable Company, and we humbly thank the Court Martial for saving *our* lives ; as was accordingly performed by them.

These are the bloody and cruel oppressions which the miserable inhabitants of St. Helena have suffered who implore relief from this Honourable House, and humbly pray,

That those here, in England, who were concerned in procuring the aforesaid commission for a Court Martial from the late King (Charles the II^d.) may be brought to condign punishment, that Blackmore and Holden may be called home to answer the crimes they have committed;

That the Company may be obliged to make restitution to the widows and relations of those who have been so illegally executed, to the full amount of all the lands and goods that have been so wrongfully taken from them; that a proper care be taken of the aforesaid poor men, who lie under condemnation; and that all the planters at St. Helena may be restored to their rights, and free from the aforesaid heavy impositions lately laid on them.

Total killed and wounded.—Three killed upon the spot, fourteen wounded by a gun from the Castle wall loaded with small bullets. One shot in a house by a musquet, and one wounded in the same house, at Great Bottom. Two hanged soon after (Bowyer and Clark) from the Castle wall. Five hanged about twelve months after, Boulton, Coulson, Jewster, Butler, and Gardiner. One stifled in prison, George Shelton.

H.

Ordinances promulgated in 1709.

In addition to the laws noted in chapter the 5th, and not anteriorly mentioned, the following is a copy of the principal ordinances and regulations promulgated or re-published, in the year 1709 by the Governor and Council, with the concurrence of the inhabitants; as far as can be collected from the defaced and mutilated state of the book in which they were engrossed.

We do order and strictly enjoin, that no person or persons whatsoever do hence-forward presume to go a hunting or shooting of wild or stray goats, upon any pretence whatever, without leave and lycence first obtained, under the Governor's hand and seale, which whoever shall obtain must keep to and observe such rules, orders, and directions, as therein shall be expressed; and as to tame goats, we do further declare, that no person or persons whatsoever, having any interest, share, or partnership, in any pound or flock of goates, do or shall presume to pound, or cause to be pounded,

Goats.

any goats therein, or milk, mark, or kill, any goats, or kids, without the privity, consent, or knowledge, of all parties concerned, or the major part ; and that none do drive, or cause to be drove, any strange flock to their own pound, upon any pretence of having some among them ; but if it do happen that some strange goats get among their flocks, notice shall be given to the owners whose respective marks they beare ; upon which notice the said owners are to fetch them, or cause them to be sent for away, next pounding after. Otherwise it shall be lawfull for the partners of the pounds whereto they frequent to kill, and send them to their proper owners : and if any person or persons shall be found to offend, and act contrary hereunto, he, they, and every of them, shall be accounted and adjudged as felons, and shall be prosecuted accordingly.

Whereas the game of the island hath
Game. been of late very much destroyed, by many idle persons, who afterwards betake themselves to an ill habit of life, neglecting their lawful employments. For remedy whereof, and the more effectual preservation of the game, we do strictly prohibit and forbid all and every person or persons whatsoever to go a shooting of, or by any other ways

or means, as dogs, nets, snares, engines, or other instruments, to kill any partridges, Guinee-hens, pigeons, turtle-doves, or any other game, or take and destroy their young, or eggs (except such as shall be found within their own plantations), without leave and lycence under the Governor's hand, under pain of ten shillings for the first offence, to the Honourable Company; and for the second offence, to be severely fined and punished, at the Governour and Councill's pleasure. (The Councill always to go a shooting for their diversion.)

To prevent clandestine and unlawful marriages, we do order, that no person under the age of twenty-one years, shall contract marriage, without consent of their parents or guardians, and Governour for the time being, if their parents be deceased; and that this order may be made publick, that none may plead ignorance. Infants.

Forasmuch as many crafty and circumventing persons have and do clandestinely trade and traffick with the youth of the island for cattle, goods, and other merchandize, without the privity or consent of their parents, guardians, or the Governour, and taking advantage of their indiscretion, and want of

judgment, buy for little or no consideration, thereby inveigling and seducing them to wast and imbezzle their substance and effects, giving them encouragement to run into all manner of excess and riot, who afterwards continue their vicious habits, to their utter ruin and destruction; for remedy whereof, we do order, that no person whatsoever do deale, barter, traffick, or correspond, with any infant under the age of twenty-one years, without the consent of parents, guardians, or the Governour for the time being, upon the penalty of forty shillings to the Honourable Company.

Orders. For the preventing and punishing of

tearing and defacing of orders, or proclamations, we do forbid all persons whatsoever from tearing, defacing, or taking down any orders, papers, or proclamations, set up at any public place, by order or leave of the Governour and Council, upon the penalty of four dollars, and such corporall punishment as the Governour and Council shall think fit.

Orphans. We do order, that our Governour and

Council shall hold a court yearely, or as often as occasion requires, for the settling of or-

phan's estates, or any thing to them belonging, or in any wise appertaining; and as to their estates, whatever money is paid on that account into our cash, we will, for the encouragement of the inhabitants, allow interest for such money from the time it appears here by our books that the same has been brought into our cash in credit of the concerned.

Whereas severall idle, gossiping wo-
men, make it their business to go from
house to house, about the island, inventing and
spreading false and scandalous reports of the good
people thereof, and thereby sow discord and debate
among neighbours, and often between men and their
wives, to the great grief and trouble of all good and
quiet people, and to the utter extinguishing of all
friendship, amity, and good neighbourhood: for the
punishment and suppression whereof, and to the in-
tent that all strife may be ended, charity revived,
and friendship continued, we do order, that if any
woman from henceforwards shall be convicted of
tale-bearing, mischief-making, scolding, drunken-
ness, or any other notorious vices, they shall be
punished by ducking, or whipping, or such other
punishments as their crimes or transgressions shall
deserve, as the Governiour and Councill shall think fit.

Women.

Cattle. We do absolutely enjoyn all and every person or persons inhabiting the said island, that, from henceforth, when they kill for their own use or others, or kill, exchange, or part with any kinde of beast, or cattle, as oxen, runts, steers, kine, heifers, calfes, sheep, lambs, goates, kids, hoggs, or piggs, they shall be obliged to repair to, or send for, and give notice thereof, to some person or persons warranted by the Governour to keep arms, who are hereby appointed and impowered to view, inspect, search, and examine, the ears, hide, and horns, of every beast so killed, or to be sold, wherby to be informed and satisfied that it hath the true and proper mark of the owner or possessor, and whose marke, and that the disposer or seller hath a property therein; and, if any person or persons shall presume or endeavour fraudulently to hide or conceale any such sale or slaughter, and kill, or dispose of, any beast, without notice given, and search made as aforesaid, otherwise than according to this law, and be thereof lawfully convicted, he, they, and every of them, shall be, and are hereby declared, and shall be deemed and adjudged as felons; and the beast so concealed, not viewed, and unlawfully killed, or made away, shall be forfeited, the one half to the Honourable Company, and the

other to the informer or prosecutor. And we do further declare, that any person or persons warranted by the Governour to keep arms shall have power to enter into and search (as for stolen goods) the houses of all and every unlicenced persons whom they shall suspect, by circumstance or otherwise, fraudulently and clandestinely to kill any meat ; and where any flesh or skins of a beast shall be found, of which they can give no reasonable account how they came by the same, or produce the party of whom they bought the same, or shew credible witness of the sale thereof, he or they shall be subject to the forfeiture and penaltyes of clandestinely and feloniously killing a beast, as if thereof convicted. And we do hereby further declare, that when any person not licensed to keep any arms, shall kill, or any ways dispose of, any such beast, he, or they, shall be obliged to get two licenced to view and examine the marks ; but when any person having the Governour's warrant for arms, do kill, sell, or dispose of any, the testimony of one single person shall be sufficient. And we do further declare and enjoyn, that all and every inhabitant do, at the marking of their cattle, procure one or more sufficient witness to be then and there present ; but always the unlicenced persons to have two present, as witness of their actions, upon

the penalty's aforesaid. And we do further declare, that the informer, or prosecutor, shall have, over and above the half of the beast forfeited, and clandestinely made away with, as abovesaid, half the fourfold, being part of the penalty inflicted on felons.

I.

Laws, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, made by the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, as Lords and Proprietors of the island of St. Helena, for the better government of slaves in the said island, and for their protection and relief, and to prevent the increase of slavery in the said island.

Whereas, by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, bearing date the sixteenth day of December, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his Majesty King Charles the Second, his said Majesty granted to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, all that the island of St. Helena; and thereof

made and constituted them, the said Governor and Company, the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors, with power and authority, at any General Court, or Courts of Committees, holden for the said Company, to ordain, make, and establish, and under their common seal to publish, any laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, for the good government and other use of the said island and premises, and the inhabitants thereof; and the same, or any of them, again, from time to time, to revoke, abrogate, and change, as they in their discretion should think fit and convenient; and to impose, limit, and provide, such pains, punishments, and penalties, by fines, amerciaments, imprisonments of body, and, where the quality of the offence should require, by taking away life or member, as the said Governor and Company should see necessary for the observation of the same laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances, and for the punishment of offenders against the same; and by the Governor or Governors, Officers, and Ministers, by the said Company to be appointed, to correct, punish, govern, and rule, the inhabitants of the said island, according to the said laws and ordinances; and to do all things which to the compleat establishment of justice should belong, as by the said letters patent may more at large appear. And

whereas the said island of St. Helena, and all and every the powers and authorities contained in the said recited letters patent, have been transferred unto, and are now vested in, the said United Company, in as full and ample manner and form as the same were granted to the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies: and whereas, by an instrument in writing, under the common seal of the said United Company, bearing date the twenty-sixth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, agreed to, and approved of, at and by a Court of Directors of the said Company, sundry laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, were made and established by the said Company, concerning the slaves in the said island of St. Helena: And whereas, upon re-considering the said laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, so made as aforesaid, concerning the said slaves, it is found necessary and proper to amend and vary the same, which will best be done by revoking thereof, and by establishing new laws: Now know all men by these presents, that, in pursuance of the said recited letters patent, and the powers and authorities thereby granted to the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, and now transferred unto, and

vested in, the said United Company as aforesaid, they, the said United Company, by this present writing under their common seal, agreed to, and approved of, at and by a Court of Directors of the said Company, held at their house in Leadenhall-street, London, the twenty-fourth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, in the presence of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman thereof, have revoked and abrogated, and do hereby revoke and abrogate, all and every the laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, made and established in and by the said instrument, bearing date the twenty-sixth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, such revocation and abrogation to take place from and immediately after the receipt and publication of these presents at the said island of St. Helena, by the Governor and Council of the said island of St. Helena; but so, nevertheless, as not to discharge, prejudice, or effect any proceedings then depending respecting any offence against the same laws before that time; but such proceedings shall be carried on and prosecuted, and the offenders punished, by virtue thereof, in the same manner as if the said laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, had remained in full force. And further, the said United Company have ordained,

made, and established, and by these presents do ordain, make, and establish, the laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, hereinafter mentioned and set forth (which have been agreed to, and approved of, by and at the said Court of Directors, held as aforesaid) for the better government of slaves in the said island of St. Helena, and for their protection, and to prevent the increase of slavery in the said island ; which said laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, shall take place, and be observed and obeyed, in the said island of St. Helena, and the territories and places thereunto belonging, from and immediately after the receipt and publication of these presents by the Governor and Council of the said island, that is to say,

ARTICLE I.

Be it ordained and established, by the said United Company, by and under the powers and authorities contained in the said recited letters patent, transferred unto, and now vested in, the said United Company as aforesaid: And it is hereby ordained and established, by and with the assent and agreement of the said Court of Directors, so held as aforesaid, that

Slaves to be diligent, obedient, and res- slaves, in the said island of St. Helena, shall work diligently in the business and

labour in which they shall be employed, and shall be obedient to the lawful commands of, and behave themselves with respect to, their masters and mistresses, and their families ; and shall not waste, damage, or injure, the property of their masters and mistresses, but shall in all respects demean themselves as good and faithful servants.

ARTICLE II.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that masters and mistresses of slaves in the said island shall treat their slaves with kindness, and shall give them protection from injury, and supply them with sufficient good and wholesome provision, and with proper cloathing and lodging; and, in sickness, with necessary medicines, care, and attention.

To be treated with kindness, and properly maintained.

ARTICLE III.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any slave or slaves shall run away, or absent themselves from the service of his, her, or their, masters and mistresses, or

Masters allowed to correct slaves moderately for crimes and faults, not exceeding twelve lashes.

shall refuse to do, or wilfully neglect, the business upon which he, she, or they, shall be employed, or shall not be diligent therein, or shall be turbulent, or refractory, get drunk, use abusive or insolent language, waste, damage, or injure, the property of his, her, or their masters and mistresses, or otherwise be disorderly, or misbehave his, her, or themselves, it shall be lawful for the masters or mistresses of such slave or slaves to give, or cause, moderate correction to be given them, for their crimes and faults, not exceeding twelve lashes, with a cat of nine tails, and that so as not to wound, or do the said slaves bodily injury, and so that the said slaves be not corrected, as aforesaid, more than once for one offence.

ARTICLE IV.

For crimes and
faults deserving
greater punish-
ment, to be
carried before
Justices of the
Peace, and to
be punished
by their orders.

And be it further ordained and es-
tablished, by the authority aforesaid, that
in all cases where the master or mistress
of any slave shall conceive the crime, or
fault committed by such slave to be of
such enormity as to require more exemplary pun-
ishment than is hereinbefore allowed to be inflicted by
such master or mistress, it shall and may be lawful
for such master or mistress to cause such offending

slave to be carried before the Governor, and any other Justice of the Peace of the said island of St. Helena, who are hereby authorized to hear and examine into every such complaint, and, by warrant under their hands, to direct such corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb, as the crime or offence shall, in their discretion, merit; after which punishment, inflicted by the order of the Justices as aforesaid, no farther or other punishment whatsoever shall be inflicted on such slave for the same offence, by any person or persons whomsoever, on pain of being proceeded against in the same manner as if such person had punished the said slave without authority, or had exceeded the punishment hereinbefore limited to be given by any master and mistress.

ARTICLE V.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any proprietor of any slave, or any person employed or authorized by such proprietor, do or shall, on any pretence whatsoever, take upon himself or herself to inflict, or cause to be inflicted, on such slave or slaves as aforesaid, any heavier, greater, or other kind of,

Excess of
punishment by
proprietors of
slaves to be
considered as
an assault and
misdemeanor.

punishment, than what is hereinbefore limited and prescribed, or shall punish any slave without reasonable cause; every such proprietor, or other person, shall be considered as guilty of an assault and misdemeanor, in like manner as if the same offence had been committed against a free person.

ARTICLE VI.

Slaves to be redressed by Justices, if not properly maintained with provisions, &c. or if these regulations shall be violated.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if the proprietor of any slave or slaves shall not supply such slave or slaves with proper food, cloathing, lodging, medicine, and care, in sickness, or shall be guilty of any other violation of the regulations of these presents, it shall and may be lawful to and for such slave and slaves to complain to two Justices of the Peace of the said island, whereof the Governor for the time being shall be one, who are hereby authorized to hear and examine into every such complaint, and by warrant under their hands to order and direct such relief and redress to be given to the complainant as shall, in their discretion, appear to be just; and every person refusing or neglecting to comply with and perform such order, shall forfeit and pay the sum of forty shillings of lawful money of Great Britain, to

be recovered as a debt, in the name of the Clerk of the Peace; and, besides such relief and redress, if the offence committed by such proprietor shall be of such enormity as to require it, he shall also be fined by the said Justices, or shall, at their discretion, be prosecuted for the same at the quarter sessions.

ARTICLE VII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all slaves, except those employed as household servants, shall be allowed Sunday to themselves, and shall not be required to work thereon for their masters.

Slaves, except household servants, not to be employed on Sundays.

ARTICLE VIII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that household slaves shall be spared from labor on Sundays, as much as reasonably may be consistent with the necessary business of the family they live in; and, unless in case of sickness in the family, or other necessity, shall be allowed one Sunday out of two to themselves, free from their ordinary week-day

Household slaves to be spared as much as reasonably may be on Sundays, and to be allowed, alternately, one Sunday in two to themselves.

work ; such allowance being made to them alternately, so that one half of the household slaves of a family may be always at home.

ARTICLE IX.

Not to carry
wood on Sun-
days, either for
themselves or
masters.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that no slave shall be allowed to collect or carry wood on a Sunday, either for their masters or mistresses, or themselves, on pain of being punished by the order of two Justices of the Peace.

ARTICLE X.

To go to
church, and be
instructed on
Sundays, when
the Chaplain is
to attend two
hours for the
purpose, be-
sides the ordi-
nary divine ser-
vice.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that a certain portion of time (to be fixed by the Governor and Council), not less than two hours, on every Sunday, shall be set apart and appropriated for the slaves assembling in the churches in the said island ; at which time the Chaplain of the island, or other clergyman officiating at such church for him, shall attend and instruct the said slaves in the Christian religion, and in the principles of morality ; and the said Chaplain, and also the Justices of the Peace, and proprietors

of slaves, shall use their best endeavours to induce slaves to attend the churches, to be so instructed; and also to attend divine service on Sunday: and the said Chaplain shall also, without fee or reward, baptize and marry slaves when thereto required; and shall record such baptisms and marriages in a register to be kept for that purpose; and in case the Chaplain shall refuse to perform, or be remiss in the several matters aforesaid, he shall be admonished by the Governor and Council; and if, after admonition, he shall continue to neglect the same, his conduct shall be reported to the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

ARTICLE XI.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person shall commit a rape upon a woman slave, or make an assault upon any woman slave, with an intent to commit a rape, such person, and all persons aiding and assisting therein, shall be prosecuted for the same, and liable to such pains, penalties, and punishments, as may be imposed or inflicted for the like offence according to the laws of England.

Rape, or attempt to commit a rape, on a female slave, to be punished according to the laws of England.

ARTICLE XII.

Lending, or hiring out a female slave, or seducing her to prostitution, punishable. And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons shall hire out, or lend any female slave for the purpose of prostitution, or shall assist in the seduction of any female slave, such offence shall be considered as a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by indictment at the quarter sessions; and, besides a fine, or other punishment, if the Court in their discretion shall see fit, it shall and may be lawful for the Court to banish such person or persons from the island.

ARTICLE XIII.

Men and women slaves to be married, and not to be allowed to cohabit together till marriage. And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that before men and women slaves shall be allowed to cohabit together as man and

wife, they shall have the consent, in writing, of their respective proprietors to their marriages, which consent shall be entered in a register, to be kept for that purpose in the office of the Secretary to the Governor and Council; and if the said proprietors shall refuse their consent without reasonable cause, it shall be lawful to the Governor and Council to consider the same; and, if they shall

see fit, to license such marriage, which said consent or licence shall be certified by the said Secretary to the Chaplain, who shall thereupon be authorized to marry the said slaves, and not otherwise.

ARTICLE XIV.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all children born of slaves shall be the property of the person or persons to whom the woman slave shall belong at the time of the births of such children.

Children born
of slaves to be-
long to the
proprietor of
the woman
slave.

ARTICLE XV.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any male slave shall debauch and have carnal knowledge of any female married slave, during her marriage, not being his wife, and the parties shall be convicted thereof before two Justices of the Peace, both or either of the said parties so offending shall receive such corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb, as such Justices in their discretion shall see proper, and shall order by warrant under their hands.

Male slave de-
bauching a
female married
slave, both to
be punished
by Justices.

ARTICLE XVI.

Proprietor of female married slaves, and others of superior degree to non-commissioned Officers, debauching female married slaves, to pay certain damages.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if the proprietor or master of any female married slave shall debauch and have carnal knowledge of such slave during her marriage, such proprietor or master shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds; and if any other freeman, in an higher station of life than a labourer, or a non-commissioned Officer, or common soldier, shall debauch and have carnal knowledge of any female married slave, such freeman shall forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds; which said respective sums of ten pounds and five pounds shall be recovered as debts, in the name of the Clerk of the Peace for the time being.

ARTICLE XVII.

What damage to be paid for the same offence by labourer, non-commissioned Officer, and soldier.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any labourer, non-commissioned Officer, or private soldier, shall debauch and have carnal knowledge of any female married slave, such labourer, non-commissioned Officer, or private soldier, shall respectively forfeit and pay for every such offence a sum equal to one-

fifth part of one year's earnings or pay; also to be recovered as a debt in the name of the Clerk of the Peace, and to be paid by monthly payments.

ARTICLE XVIII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all persons (except proprietors of slaves, and persons authorized by them in respect of such moderate correction as aforesaid) who shall beat or ill treat slaves, shall be guilty of an assault and misdemeanor, and shall be punishable for the same by two or more Justices of the Peace, or by indictment at the quarter sessions.

Other persons
besides pro-
prietors
punishable for
beating and
ill treating
slaves.

ARTICLE XIX.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any slave or slaves shall wilfully damage or injure the property of the said United Company, or of any person or persons not being his master or mistress, or shall injure the public roads, or commit any other offence detrimental to society or the good government of the said island, he or they so offending shall be punished for the same by the order of Justices of the Peace,

Slaves damag-
ing private
property, pub-
lic roads, &c.
punishable.

according to the nature of the injury, unless it shall appear that such damage or injury was done under the authority or by the connivance of the master or

Masters or
mistresses au-
thorizing or
conniving
thereat, also
punishable.

mistress of such slave or slaves ; in which case the slave shall be slightly punished for the unlawful act, and the said master or mistress shall make good and pay the damage done, and moreover shall be punishable for the same by two or more Justices of the Peace, or by indictment at the quarter sessions.

ARTICLE XX.

Slaves allowed
to give evi-
dence, if
found to under-
stand and be
impressed with
the obligation
of an oath.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that slaves shall be allowed to give evidence in all judicial proceedings, both civil and criminal, as well against free persons as against one another, provided they shall be found to understand the obligation of an oath, and to believe in a Supreme Being ; and all such witnesses shall be sworn in such manner and form as shall be most binding upon their consciences ; and if they shall forswear themselves, shall be liable to all the penalties and punishments of perjury.

ARTICLE XXI.

And be it further ordained and established, by the

authority aforesaid, that slaves shall not be allowed to have dogs to follow them, without licence from their masters or mistresses, on pain of punishment for the same by such moderate correction as the master or mistresses are allowed to give, as hereinbefore is mentioned, or of such greater punishment as the Justices shall see proper, according to the circumstances of the offence.

Slaves not allowed to have dogs.

ARTICLE XXII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that no sheep or cattle shall be impounded by slaves upon the commons, unless a white person shall be present.

Sheep or cattle not to be impounded, unless a white person be present.

ARTICLE XXIII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that slaves employed to fish in the sea shall not row or sail their boats by Banks's Battery in the night, on pain of being severely punished, unless such sailing or rowing shall be licensed by the Governor, or unless, upon investigating the circumstances, the Governor and Council shall see fit to

Not to row or sail round Banks's Battery in the night.

dispense with and excuse the same, which it shall be lawful for them to do as they shall see fit.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Punishable for carrying fire about the town without being properly covered. And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that slaves shall not carry fire about the town, unless the same shall be properly covered or secured, on pain of being punished by their masters and mistresses, as hereinbefore is mentioned; or of greater punishment by the Justices as hereinbefore is also mentioned.

ARTICLE XXV.

Proprietors to be paid for slaves convicted and executed for criminal offences, and for their loss of time in prison, unless suspected of encouraging or committing at their offences. And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that slaves committed to gaol, and confined for criminal offences, shall be considered as taken from their masters and mistresses for the public good; and, in such case, the master or mistress of such slave shall have a reasonable satisfaction for the earnings of such slave during confinement, after deducting the expense of maintenance; such satisfaction to be settled by the Governor and Council: and in case such slave should be condemned, and suffer death

for the crime of which he or she shall be convicted, the value of such slave to be estimated by a jury, to be summoned before the Governor for that purpose, shall be paid to the master or mistress of such slave: which said several payments shall be made by the parish officers, and shall be raised and assessed upon the inhabitants, as other parish rates shall be raised and assessed: Provided that if the Justices before whom the trial of such slave shall be had shall certify, by writing under their hands, that, from the evidence given on such trial, there shall be reason to suspect that the master or mistress of such slave encouraged or connived at the offence committed by such slave, then and in such case such payments as aforesaid, or any of them, shall not be made to such master or mistress as aforesaid.

ARTICLE XXVI.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons shall harbour or conceal any slave who shall absent him or herself from his or her master or mistress's service, for more than the space of forty-eight hours, without the licence in writing of such master or mistress for such absence, every free

Persons harbouring or concealing slaves more than forty-eight hours, to make a certain payment to the proprietor.

person so harbouring or concealing such slave shall pay to the master or mistress of such slave any sum to be awarded by two Justices of the Peace (of whom the Governor for the time being shall be one) not exceeding twenty shillings per day, to be recovered, in default of payment, by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of such person or persons, by warrant from any Justice, together with the cost of

such distress and sale ; and every slave
And one slave
harbouring
another, to be
punished. so harbouring or concealing another
slave, shall be punished at the discretion

of any two or more Justice or Justices ; provided
that if it shall appear that there was lawful or rea-
sonable cause for such harbouring or concealment,
it shall be lawful for any two Justices to excuse the
same, and remit the payment and punishment afore-
said.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Slaves to have
the enjoyment
of, and be pro-
tected in re-
spect to, such
property as
they shall law-
fully acquire. And be it further ordained and esta-
blished, by the authority aforesaid, that
in case any slaves, by and with the con-
sent or permission of the person or per-
sons to whom they shall belong, shall ac-
quire any property, by labouring for themselves, or
by rearing stock, or by gifts, or other lawful ways

or means, the property so acquired shall belong to such slaves, to be applied as they shall think fit ; and such slaves shall be fully protected by the law in respect of such property.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

And, in order to prevent theft and frauds by slaves, be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful for any person whatsoever to make any purchase from or sale to any slave, unless such slave shall have a licence in writing from his master or mistress for buying or selling ; and any free person so buying from or selling to a slave, not being possessed of such licence, shall be fined by the Justices before whom the fact shall be proved.

No person to purchase from or sell to slaves, unless such slaves shall be licensed in writing.

ARTICLE XXIX.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that in case any proprietor of a slave shall correct or ill treat, or cause such slave to be corrected or ill treated, for or on account of such slave having made any complaint to the Justices, such correction or ill treatment shall be considered

Correcting slaves for complaining to Justices, an offence.

as an assault and misdemeanor, and shall be proceeded against before the Justices, or by indictment at the quarter sessions.

ARTICLE XXX.

Slaves making frivolous and unfounded complaints, to be punished. And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that if any slave or slaves shall make any frivolous and unfounded complaint, and

thereby occasion slander, trouble, expense, or loss of time, to his, her, or their master or mistress, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Justices before whom such frivolous and unfounded complaint shall be made, to order such slave or slaves to be punished for the same, as they in their discretions shall think fit.

ARTICLE XXXI.

Offences against these regulations cognizable by Justices of the Peace, who may punish slaves, and fine masters and mistresses, not exceeding forty shillings, or order prosecutions at quarter sessions. And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the offences, matters, and things, mentioned and arising from these laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, and all disputes and differences between slaves in the said island, shall be cognizable by two or more Justices of

the Peace of the said island, of whom the Governor for the time being shall be one ; and it shall and may be lawful to and for such Justices to punish slaves for their offences and misbehaviour, as herein directed, not extending to life or limb ; and also either to fine any master or mistress, or other free person, for any offence against or any ill treatment of slaves, or to order such offences to be prosecuted at the quarter sessions, provided that the said Justices shall not assess any fine exceeding forty shillings ; and provided also, that no person shall be proceeded against both by fine and by prosecution at the quarter sessions.

ARTICLE XXXII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the fines and forfeitures hereby created or authorized, in case of non-payment, shall be recovered by distress and sale of the stock, goods, and chattels of the offending parties, together with the costs of such distress and sale, giving five days' notice before any such sale shall be made.

Fines and forfeitures to be recovered by distress and sale.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Fines, &c. not appropriated, to be paid to Governor and Council, and kept as a separate fund for future appropriation to public use.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the fines, forfeitures, penalties, and payments, hereby created and authorized, and not otherwise appropriated,

shall be paid to the Governor and Council of the said island of St. Helena, to be kept as a separate fund, subject to such future appropriation as shall be made thereof, for some public use, by the Court of Directors of the said United Company; the state of which fund shall from time to time be transmitted to the said Court of Directors,

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Proceedings concerning slaves to be recorded, and sent home to Directors.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that the Justices of the Peace shall cause a correct record and state of all complaints, examinations of witnesses, orders, and other proceedings before them, and also before the Court of Quarter Sessions, any way relating to slaves, to be made and kept by the Clerk of the Peace, or some other officer, whereto all the Justices shall from time to time resort at their free wills and pleasures; and the same shall be regularly transmitted to the Court

of Directors of the said United Company for their information.

ARTICLE XXXV.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that in case of proprietors of slaves being found guilty at the quarter sessions of ill treating slaves, or any gross violation of these regulations, or any of them, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Court in their discretion to order such ill treated slave to be sold, for the purpose of removing such slave from the government of the person guilty of such ill treatment or gross violation; but nevertheless, the price at which such slave shall be sold, after deducting the charges of sale, shall be paid to the said proprietor.

Power for
Court of Quar-
ter Sessions to
order slaves
grossly ill
treated by pro-
prietors to be
sold.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

And be it further ordained and established, that in all cases of gross or bad treatment of slaves by free people, or any other gross violation or opposition to the provisions of these presents for the relief and redress of slaves, the Governor and Council shall point out and particularly repre-

Gross ill treat-
ment of slaves
to be reported
to Directors,
and no in-
dulgence to be
shown to of-
fenders without
Court's orders.

sent the same to the Court of Directors of the said United Company for their consideration, first giving notice of their intention in that respect to the party against whom such representation shall be made, in order that they may have an opportunity of answering the same ; and in all cases of such representations, the said Governor and Council shall be restrained from renewing or granting any lease, or shewing any other indulgence to such party, until the pleasure of the said Court of Directors shall be declared thereon.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

The mode in which slaves may be made free. And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons to manumise and set free any slave or slaves, to him, her, or them belonging, by deed or will, so that such deed or will be entered or registered in the Secretary's office in the said island, and so that the party so manumising or setting free such slave, or the executors or administrators of a deceased person, or some other responsible person on their behalf, to be approved by the parish officers for the time being, do and shall give bond to the parish officers, in the penalty of one hundred and

sixty pounds, to maintain such slave or slaves, in case he, she, or they shall become burthensome to the parish; and until such security shall be given, the deed or instrument declaring such setting free shall have no effect.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that no proprietor of any slave or slaves shall, under pretence of manumission, or otherwise, discard or turn away any slave or slaves on account or by reason of such slave or slaves being rendered incapable of labour or service, by means of sickness, lameness, age, or infirmity; but every such proprietor shall keep, maintain, and provide them with wholesome food, and decent, comfortable cloathing and lodging; and not suffer them to wander about, and become burthensome to others; but in all such cases it shall and may be lawful for two or more Justices to order such relief and redress as shall be necessary, and also to punish the offender by fine, or by prosecution at the quarter sessions.

To provide for slaves disabled by sickness, lameness, age, or infirmities; and not suffer them to want, or be troublesome to others.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

No new slaves to be imported; and every person harbouring or entertaining a new slave, to pay fifty pounds, and also the expenses of sending him to the place to which he belongs.

And, in order to prevent the increase of slavery at the said island, be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the publication of these presents as aforesaid, no new slave shall be imported at the said island of St. Helena, for the purpose of being left there, or shall be suffered to remain there on any account or pretence whatsoever, without the express licence and permission, in writing, of the Court of Directors of the said United Company, whether such slave shall be obtained by any person upon the said island by purchase, or gift, or otherwise howsoever; and every person receiving, harbouring, or entertaining, any such slave or slaves without such licence or permission as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds for every slave so received, harboured, or entertained, to be recovered as a debt in the name of the Clerk of the Peace; and moreover such slave shall, by order of the Governor and Council, be sent from the island of St. Helena to the place to which he belongs, by and at the expense of the person so receiving, harbouring, or entertaining, such slave or slaves.

ARTICLE XL.

Provided always nevertheless, and be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to remit, vary, or alter, any criminal offence of which any person shall be guilty against the laws of England; but all such offences shall be tried and punished in like manner as if these laws, rules, and ordinances had not been made. Provided that no person shall receive punishment by the laws of England and also by these laws, rules, and ordinances, for one and the same offence.

These regulations not to remit or vary the laws of England.

ARTICLE XLI.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that the Governor and Council of the said island shall yearly, on the first day of January in every year, or within ten days then next following, appoint two persons, who shall be called Visitors of Slaves for that year, and who shall four times in every year, and oftener if occasion shall require, visit and examine into the state of slaves, and the manner of their being fed,

Governor and Council to appoint visitors of slaves, who are to visit four times, or oftener, every year, to examine and report on complaints.

cloathed, and treated; and shall examine the complaints both of slaves and their proprietors; and shall from time to time make due report to the Governor and Council of what they shall find amiss, that proper proceedings may be taken for the correction thereof.

ARTICLE XLII.

Notice to be given to Governor of death of slaves, that the cause of such death may be inquired into.

And be it further ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that when any slave shall die, the master or mistress of such slave shall forthwith,

and not exceeding the space of twelve hours at the most, and before the burial of such slave, cause notice to be given of such death to the Governor of the said island, who shall forthwith inform the said visitors, or one of them, thereof; and by such visitors, or one of them, or some other person, shall cause inquiry to be made into the cause of such death, and all circumstances relating thereto; which shall be reported to the said Governor and Council, in order that proper proceedings may forthwith be taken, if it shall appear that such death arose from violence or ill treatment.

Given under the common seal of the said

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Signed, by order of the Court of Directors,

THO^s. MORTON. Sec.

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1808.

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